

# ITALIAN HIGH RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE SCULPTURE

BY JOHN POPE-HENNESSY



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VOLUME







ITALIAN HIGH RENAISSANCE AND  
BAROQUE SCULPTURE

AN INTRODUCTION  
TO ITALIAN SCULPTURE  
BY  
JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

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PART I  
*ITALIAN GOTHIC SCULPTURE*

PART II  
*ITALIAN RENAISSANCE SCULPTURE*

PART III  
*ITALIAN HIGH RENAISSANCE AND  
BAROQUE SCULPTURE*  
IN THREE VOLUMES

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY

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HIGH RENAISSANCE  
AND BAROQUE  
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## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The bibliographical and other references used throughout the text and notes of the present volume are for the most part self-explanatory. It should, however, be noted that:

(i) References to my own *Italian Gothic Sculpture* (London, 1955) are given in the form Vol. I, followed by page (p.), Plate (Pl.) or Figure (Fig.) numbers. References to my own *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1958) are given in the form Vol. II.

(ii) Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from the *Vite* of Vasari are from the Milanesi edition of 1906.

(iii) The following bibliographical abbreviations are employed:

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 167, 171 and 173 are reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. No more than the first two volumes of this series could the present book have been prepared without the unstinting help of innumerable colleagues. Any list of individual acknowledgements would be invidious, but I must place on record my indebtedness to Professor Ottavio Morisani (to whom are due the photographs reproduced on Plates 42, 53 and 54), the authorities of the ehem. Staatliche Museen, Berlin, and of the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples (who have been good enough to make new negatives of certain works), the Secretary of the Royal Academy of Arts (who has facilitated the rephotographing of the Taddei tondo of Michelangelo), Professor Ugo Procacci, Dr. Alessandro Bettagno, Dr. Terisio Pignatti and Mr. Hugh Honour, and to Mr. James Holderbaum. I have depended at every stage upon the generous co-operation of the staff of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence. The translations used throughout the notes have been prepared by Mr. Michael Baxandall.

## MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI

(b. 1475; d. 1564)

Michelangelo Buonarroti was born on 6 March 1475 at Caprese, where his father, Lodovico, was Podestà. He came of impoverished but noble stock ('di nobilissima stirpe'). Not long after his birth, his father returned to Settignano, near Florence, and in 1488 the boy was apprenticed for three years to the painters Domenico and Davide Ghirlandaio.

An attempt has been made to distinguish Michelangelo's hand in certain figures in the upper frescoes on the right side of the choir of S. Maria Novella, Florence, on which Ghirlandaio was engaged at this time. According to Vasari, Michelangelo also painted a St. Anthony the Abbot from an engraving by Schongauer, and made 'perfect copies of various old masters'. These included drawings after frescoes by Giotto and Masaccio. In 1489 he left the Ghirlandaio studio to work under Bertoldo in the Casino Mediceo (see text), where he attracted the notice of Lorenzo de' Medici. From 1490 till the death of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1492 he lived in the Palazzo Medici. The relief of the Battle of the Centaurs (see Plate 2 below) dates from this time. After Lorenzo's death, he executed a marble Hercules which was later sent to France (lost) and a wooden Crucifix for Santo Spirito (lost).

In the first half of October 1494 he left Florence for Venice, and travelled thence to Bologna, where, through the good offices of Gianfrancesco Aldovrandi, he was employed on completing the Arca of St. Dominic (see Plate 1 below). Returning to Florence towards the end of 1495, he carved a Baptist for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (lost) and a sleeping Cupid (lost), which was purchased by Cardinal Riario as an antique. Between 1496 and 1501 he was in Rome, where he carved the Bacchus (see Plate 10 below) and the Pietà in St. Peter's (see Plate 6 below). The only painting by him mentioned at this time is a cartoon for a Stigmatisation of St. Francis, which was overpainted by another hand and was preserved in S. Pietro in Montorio (lost). The years 1501-5, when he was again employed in Florence, were some of the most inspired and prolific of the artist's life; at this time he carved the marble David (see Plate 12 below), the Bruges Madonna (see Plate 7 below), the statues of the Piccolomini Altar in Siena Cathedral (see Plate 9 below), and the Pitti and Taddei Madonnas (see Plates 3, 4 below), received the commission for the Apostles in the Duomo (see Plate 14 below) and for a bronze David for Pierre de Rohan (lost), and prepared (1504) the cartoon for the fresco of the Battle of Cascina in the Palazzo della Signoria. In March 1505 he was summoned to Rome, and entrusted with the tomb of Pope Julius II (see Plate 15 below). After the drama of the first phase of the tomb, he fled to Florence, where he worked on the St. Matthew, and then rejoined the papal court at Bologna, where he prepared a bronze statue of the Pope for the façade of S. Petronio (completed 1508, destroyed). Prior to 10 May 1508 he was commissioned to paint the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, on which

he was engaged till October 1512. A relief known as the Madonna of the Steps in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence, appears to date from this time. After the death of the Pope, he resumed work on the papal tomb, executing the Moses and the figures known as the Dying and Rebellious Slaves. By the new Pope, Leo X, he was invested with the title of Conte Palatino; his first papal commission of the new reign was for the façade of S. Lorenzo in Florence (1516, annulled 1520). Between 1516 and 1519 he spent much time at Carrara and Pietrasanta procuring marble for this work. In or before 1520 he embarked on a new project, that for the Medici Chapel (see Plate 24 below). In April 1520 the death of Raphael removed his only rival at the papal court, but intent upon his sculptural commissions he remained in Florence. Under Pope Adrian VI (1522-3) pressure from the Della Rovere seems to have compelled him to return briefly to the sculptures for the papal tomb, but after the election of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici as Pope Clement VII (1523) the balance was once more weighted in favour of the Chapel and of the Biblioteca Laurenziana (after 1524).

After the Sack of Rome (May, 1527), a popular government was installed in Florence, and Michelangelo was charged (1529) with the fortification of Florence, for which drawings survive. The project for a group of Samson slaying a Philistine dates from this time (1528). After a temporary break with the republican authorities (autumn, 1529), he returned to Florence before the town capitulated to the papal forces, and in November 1530 was pardoned by Pope Clement VII. About this time he executed a painting of Leda for Alfonso d'Este (later in France, lost; cartoon in Florence also lost), a cartoon of the Noli Me Tangere for Alfonso d'Avalos (1531, lost; copies in Casa Buonarroti), and a cartoon of Venus and Cupid for Bartolomeo Bettini (copied by Pontormo). From 1531-3 date proposals for a tribune of relics at S. Lorenzo. The pressures under which Michelangelo was working at this time (see text) were exacerbated in 1532 by his meeting with Tommaso Cavalieri, which was among the factors that led him, in 1534, to abandon the Medici Chapel and move to Rome. The changed climate of the pontificate of Paul III (elected 1534) is directly reflected in Michelangelo's style, and found final expression in the fresco of the Last Judgement (cartoon 1535, begun spring 1536, completed autumn 1541). As in the years dedicated to the Sistine ceiling, he executed little sculpture at this time. A bust of Brutus (Museo Nazionale, Florence), carved for Cardinal Ridolfi and finished by Tiberio Calcagni, seems to have been executed after the year of the Giannotti Dialogues (1546) and before the death of Cardinal Ridolfi (1550). In the early stages of work on the Last Judgement, Michelangelo became acquainted with Vittoria Colonna; this friendship, which is described in the Dialogues of Francisco de Hollanda, is celebrated by many poems, and inspired a number of small religious works (known

through drawings or copies), was of importance for the artist's spiritual development. The most notable sculpture of this time is the statue of the Contemplative Life carved for the tomb of Pope Julius II, which was finally completed in 1545. In painting, the apocalyptic style of the Last Judgement was further developed in the frescoes of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter in the Cappella Paolina of the Vatican (1542-50). In 1547 Michelangelo became chief architect of St. Peter's, and from about this time date the completion of the Palazzo Farnese and the systematisation of the Capitol. In extreme old age architecture took over an increasingly large part of Michelangelo's thought. A clay model for the cupola of St. Peter's was completed in 1557, and a wood model between 1558 and 1561. After 1559 he was occupied with the transformation of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini; in 1561 he started work on S. Maria degli Angeli at the Baths of Diocletian; still later (1564) he planned the Sforza Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore; and in 1561 designed the Porta Pia. This activity forms the background to the great group of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Duomo in Florence (see Plates 36, 37 below) and to the Rondanini Pietà in the Museo del Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Fig. 37), which seems to have been begun about 1552-3, to have been modified in 1555-6, and to have been revised once more in 1563-4. The Rondanini Pietà is certainly identical with a Pietà bequeathed by Michelangelo to Antonio del Francese in a will of 21 August 1561, and is described by Daniele da Volterra, in a letter 11 June 1564 to Michelangelo's nephew, Lionardo Buonarroti, as the last sculpture on which Michelangelo worked: 'Io non mi richordo se in tutto quello scritto io messo chome Michelangelo lavorò tutto il sabato della domenica di carnovale ellavorò in piedi studiando sopra quel corpo di pietà.' Michelangelo died in Rome on 18 February 1564, and was buried in S. Croce, Florence (see Plate 67 below).

The notes below cover the whole of Michelangelo's sculptural oeuvre with the exception of the Madonna of the Steps in the Casa Buonarroti, Florence, the Brutus in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and the Rondanini Pietà in the Museo del Castello Sforzesco, Milan. The main works not by Michelangelo for which an attribution to the master is sometimes mistakenly maintained are the relief of the Crucifixion of St. Andrew in the Museo Nazionale, and the Palestrina Pietà in the Accademia, Florence.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The primary sources for the life of Michelangelo are the two lives by Vasari (1550 and 1568) and the life by Condivi (1553); the most convenient comparative edition is that by Frey (*Le Vite di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1887). In addition to Frey's edition of the Michelangelo poems (*Die Dichtungen des Michelagniolo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1897), a modern critical edition is also available (*Michelangelo Buonarroti, Rime*, a cura di E. N. Girardi, Bari, 1960). For the letters and contracts see Milanesi (*Le Lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, and *Les correspondants de Michel-Ange*, 1, Paris, 1890) and Frey (*Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagniolo*, Berlin, 1899). The Dialogues of Francisco de Hollanda are available in number of editions (e.g. A. M. Bessone Aurel, 1900).

*I Dialoghi Michelangioleschi di Francisco d'Olanda*, Rome, 1953), and the Dialogues of Donato Giannotti are available in a single edition by D. R. de Campos (*Dialoghi di Donato Giannotti*, ed. D. R. de Campos, Florence, 1939). A key to the Michelangelo literature before 1926 is supplied by E. Steinmann and R. Wittkower (*Michelangelo-Bibliographie 1510-1926*, Leipzig, 1927). In modern times the full range of Michelangelo studies is covered only in the monograph by C. de Tolnay (1. *The Youth of Michelangelo*, Princeton, 2nd. ed., 1947; 2. *The Sistine Ceiling*, 2nd. ed., 1949; 3. *The Medici Chapel*, 1948; 4. *The Tomb of Pope Julius II*, 1954; 5. *The Late Works*, 1960), to which present-day students, even where they dissent from its conclusions, owe an incalculable debt. The most satisfactory single-volume monographs are those by Tolnay (*Michelangiolo*, Florence, 1951, also available in French translation) and H. von Einem (*Michelangelo*, Stuttgart, 1959). None of these volumes, however, entirely supersedes the earlier Michelangelo monographs, and Thode's *Michelangelo und das Ende der Renaissance* (3 vols., Berlin, 1902-12) and *Michelangelo: Kritische Untersuchungen über seine Werke* (3 vols., 1908-13) in particular present an interpretation of Michelangelo's work which is remarkable for its consistency and is still in large part acceptable. In English J. A. Symonds' *Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti* (2 vols., 1893), though unsound from an academic standpoint, provides a worthy introduction to the artist and his work. A volume by Kriegbaum on the sculptures (*Michelangiolo Buonarroti, Die Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1940) reveals signs of hasty preparation, but contains, alongside suggestions that are inadmissible, a number of fresh observations. From a critical standpoint some of the best writing on Michelangelo is due to Wölfflin (*Die Jugendwerke des Michelangelo*, Munich, 1891; *Classic Art*, London, 1952) and Berenson (*The Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, 3 vols., Chicago, 1938). Berenson's book apart, the standard volumes on the drawings are those of Frey (*Die Handzeichnungen Michelangiolo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1909-11) and Dussler (*Die Zeichnungen des Michelangelo*, Berlin, 1959); the latter, though sparsely illustrated, is particularly valuable. No contemporary work on Michelangelo, however, reveals so thorough and so intimate an understanding of his creative processes as the books and articles of J. Wilde; most of these are referred to individually in the notes below, but special reference must be made here to *Italian Drawings . . . in the British Museum: Michelangelo and his Studio* (London, 1953) and 'The Decoration of the Sistine Chapel,' in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XLIV, 1958, pp. 61-81. In the notes below reference is also made to A. Gotti (*Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence, 1875, 2 vols.), C. Justi (*Michelangelo: Beiträge zur Erklärung der Werke und des Menschen*, Leipzig, 1900, and *Michelangelo: Neue Beiträge zur Erklärung seiner Werke*, Berlin, 1909), Frey (*Michelangiolo Buonarroti: sein Leben und seine Werke*, i, Berlin, 1907), Panofsky (in *Art Bulletin*, xix, 1937, pp. 561-79, and *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939), and A. E. Popp (*Die Medici-Kapelle Michelangelos*, Munich, 1922). The Rondanini Pietà in Milan, on which no note is included in this book, is discussed by Tolnay ('Michelangelo's Rondanini Pietà,' in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxv, 1934, pp. 146-57), Baumgart ('Die Pietà Rondanini, ein Beitrag zur Erkenntnis des Alters-

stiles Michelangelos,' in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lvi, 1935, pp. 44-56), D. Frey ('Die Pietà Rondanini und Rembrandts "Drei Kreuze"', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 208-32), and Perrig (*Michelangelo's letzte Pietà-Idee*, Bern, 1960). Some useful observations on the iconography of the Medici Chapel are offered by F. Hartt ('The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel', in *Essays in Honour of Georg Svarzenski*, 1957, pp. 145-55). An excellent survey of Michelangelo's architectural activity is supplied by J. Ackerman (*The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2 vols., London, 1961).

**Plate 1: ARCA OF ST. DOMINIC**  
S. Domenico Maggiore, Bologna

On 2 March 1494 the Bolognese sculptor Niccolò dell'Arca (Vol. II, pp. 343-4) died, leaving his work on the lid of the Arca of St. Dominic (Vol. I, Fig. 48) incomplete. Later in the year Michelangelo, who had left Florence before 14 October 1494 travelling to Bologna by way of Venice, was invited to supply the missing statuettes. The circumstances of the commission are described by Condivi: 'Un giorno, menandolo per Bologna, lo condusse a veder l'arca di S. Domenico nella chiesa dedicata al detto Santo. Dove mancando due figure di marmo, cioè un San Petronio ed un angelo in ginocchioni con un candeliere in mano, domandando (a) Michelangelo se gli dava il core di farle, e rispondendo di sì, fece che fossero date a fare a lui: delle quali gli fece pagare ducati trenta, del San Petronio diciotto, e dell'agnolo dodici. Eran le figure d'altezza di tre palmi, e si posson vedere ancora in quel medesimo luogo . . . Stette con messer Gianfrancesco Aldrovandi poco più d'un anno' (One day, when he was taking him round Bologna, he took him to see the shrine of St. Dominic in the church dedicated to that Saint. Two marble figures were missing from the work, a St. Petronius and a kneeling angel holding a candlestick; and he asked Michelangelo if he had the spirit to make them, and, when he replied that he had, he arranged that they should be commissioned from him. He had him paid 30 ducats for them - 18 for the St. Petronius, and 12 for the angel. The figures were three palmi high, and they may still be seen in that place . . . He stayed with Master Gianfrancesco Aldrovandi rather more than a year). Condivi's account is repeated by Vasari, who likewise refers only to an angel and a figure of St. Petronius, and does not mention the figure of St. Proculus. Local sources, however, (for which see Bonora, *L'Arca di San Domenico e Michelangelo-Buonarroti*, Bologna, 1875) ascribe all three figures to Michelangelo. The most reliable of these is a passage in the *Memorie* of Fra Lodovico da Prelormo, who is stated by Bonora to have had charge of the shrine from 1527 till 1572: 'Sciendum tamen est quod Imago Sancti Petronii quasi totta, et totta Imago Sancti Proculi, et totta illius Angeli qui genua flectit et è posto sopra il parapeto che fece Alfonso scultore, quale si è verso le fenestre, queste tre Imagine ha fatto quidam Juvenis florentinus nomine Michael angelus imediate post mortem dicti M.ri Nicolai' (Almost all the figure of St. Petronius and the whole of the figure of St. Proculus and of the kneeling angel,

which stand above the balustrade made by the sculptor Alfonso towards the windows, were made by a certain young Florentine called Michelangelo, immediately after the death of Master Niccolò). The three figures are mentioned again by Leandro Alberti (*De Divi Dominici Calaguritani obitu et sepultura*, Bologna, 1535, f. 9: 'videlicet simulachrum divi Petronii, Proculi, et alterius Angeli') and by Pio (*Uomini illustri*, 1588: 'vi fece fare dall'eccellente et famoso Scultore et Pittore Michele Angelo Buonarroti la statua di S. Proculo, quella d'un Angelo, et buona parte di quella di S. Petronio, prima rimasa imperfetta') (he had made by the excellent and famous sculptor and painter Michelangelo Buonarroti the statue of St. Proculus, that of an angel, and a large part of that of St. Petronius, which had been left unfinished before). They are also referred to by Lamo (*Graticola di Bologna*, 1560, publ. 1844: 'E sopra laltar vi sono dui Angilj E Michelagnolo ne fece uno qual'E a man dirita E lavoro in uno san petronio Cioe neli pani') (Over the altar there are two angels: Michelangelo made one of them, the one on the right, and did some work on a St. Petronius, on its drapery). Since the St. Proculus is not mentioned by Vasari or Condivi, it has been suggested (Frey) that this statuette was begun by Niccolò dell'Arca and retouched by Michelangelo. This theory cannot be substantiated from examination of the figure. On the other hand, local evidence is conclusive that the St. Petronius (Fig. 3) was at least blocked out by the earlier sculptor, and there is nothing in its stance or pose that would preclude this hypothesis. The Angel of Michelangelo and the corresponding Angel of Niccolò dell'Arca were wrongly identified in the nineteenth century, and the latter was cast in plaster as a work of Michelangelo. Wölfflin observes that the figure of St. Petronius is influenced by Jacopo della Quercia. It is suggested by Frey that Michelangelo first completed the St. Petronius and subsequently undertook the Angel and the St. Proculus, and by Tolnay that the Angel precedes the other statuettes. The working sequence postulated by Frey is more probable, but since Michelangelo returned to Florence late in 1495, the time interval between the figures was in any event very short. The head of the St. Petronius has been broken and replaced: the St. Proculus was damaged on 4 August 1572 (for this see Fra Lodovico da Prelormo, loc. cit.: 'la rappe e cascata sopra la salegata fu fatta in piu pezzi'), and subsequently reconstituted.

**Plate 2: THE BATTLE OF THE CENTAURS**  
Casa Buonarroti, Florence

The relief is described by Condivi in the following terms: 'Era nella medesima casa (Palazzo Medici) il Poliziano, uomo, come ognun sa, e piena testimonianza ne fanno i suoi scritti, dottissimo ed acutissimo. Costui conoscendo Michelagnolo di spirito elevatissimo, molto lo amava e di continuo lo spronava, benchè non bisognasse, allo studio, dichiarandogli sempre e dandogli da far qualche cosa. Tra le quali un giorno gli propose il ratto di Deianira e la zuffa de' Centauri, dichiarandogli a parte per parte tutta la favola. Messesi Michelagnolo a farla in marmo di mezzo rilievo, e così l'impresa gli succedette, che mi rammenta udirlo dire, che quando la rivede, cognosce quanto

torto egli abbia fatto alla natura a non seguirar prontamente l'arte della scultura, facendo giudizio per quell' opera, quanto potesse riuscire. Nè ciò dice per vantarsi, uomo modestissimo, ma perchè pur veramente si duole d'essere stato così sfortunato, che per altrui colpa qualche volta sia stato senza far nulla dieci o dodici anni, il che di sotto si vedrà. Questa sua opera ancora si vede in Firenze in casa sua, e le figure sono di grandezza di palmi due in circa. Appena aveva finita quest'opera, ch' il Magnifico Lorenzo passò di questa vita' (In the same house lived Politian, a man who, as everyone knows and as his writings prove, was most learned and shrewd. He, recognising that Michelangelo was of a most lofty spirit, loved him much and continually urged him on in his studies, even though there was no need of this; and he was always explaining things to him and giving him things to do. Among which he suggested to him one day the Rape of Deianira and the Battle of the Centaurs, explaining the whole story to him, passage by passage. Michelangelo began doing it in marble in half-relief; and the attempt succeeded so well, that I remember hearing him say that, when he saw it again later, he realised how mistaken he had been about his natural bent, in not following eagerly the art of sculpture – inferring from that work what great success he would have had. He did not say this to boast, for he is a man of great modesty, but rather because he was truly grieved at having been so unfortunate as sometimes to have passed, through others' fault, ten or twelve years without doing any sculpture, as will be seen later. This work of his is still to be seen in his house in Florence, and the figures are about two palmi high. He had scarcely finished this work when Lorenzo the Magnificent passed from this life). The relief is also described by Vasari: 'Michelagnolo fece in un pezzo di marmo, datogli da quel signore (Lorenzo de' Medici), la battaglia di Ercole coi Centauri, che fu tanto bella, che talvolta, per chi ora la considera, non par di mano di giovane, ma di maestro pregiato e consumato negli studi e pratico in quell'arte. Ella è oggi in casa sua tenuta per memoria da Leonardo suo nipote, come cosa rara che ell' è' (Michelangelo made from a piece of marble given him by that lord (Lorenzo de' Medici) the Battle of Hercules with the Centaurs, which was so beautiful that, to those who examine it now, it sometimes seems from the hand not of a youth, but of a celebrated master, perfected by study and experienced in the art. It is now in his house, kept in memory of him by his nephew Leonardo as a rare thing, as it indeed is). If Condivi's account of the origin of the relief is to be believed, it was carved in the early months of 1492 and completed before the death of Lorenzo de' Medici on 8 April of that year. The relief was continuously in Buonarroti ownership, though an attempt seems to have been made to purchase it in 1527 for the Gonzaga collection (for this see Luzio, *La Galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1623-28*, Milan, 1913, p. 248). Condivi's and Vasari's accounts of the iconography of the relief are mutually exclusive. It has been suggested (i) that the relief is based on Hyginus, and shows Deianira freed by Hercules (Strygowski) or is a fusion of two myths (Frey, Thode); (ii) that it depends from Ovid and shows the abduction of Hippodameia (Wickhoff, Wölfflin, Tolnay). Tolnay identifies the figures as Theseus (left, holding a rock), Pirithous (with back turned) attempting to rescue Hippodameia

(right centre), and the centaur Eurythion (centre back). The style of the carving depends from classical battle sarcophagi, but no specific relationship has been established between the relief and a surviving sarcophagus. An attempt to establish a connection with Hellenistic gems (Hebler) is inconclusive. The relief has been made up in clay at the bottom, and a wide horizontal strip is uncarved at the top. This has been explained by the alternative assumptions (Kriegbaum) that an architectural background was originally planned, and (Tolnay) that Michelangelo 'à cause de son amour pour le marbre' was unwilling to mutilate the block.

Plate 3: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH  
THE YOUNG ST. JOHN  
Royal Academy of Arts, London

The earliest references to the relief occur in 1564 in the *Orazione* of Varchi and in 1550 in the *Vite* of Vasari (for the latter see Plate 4 below). According to Vasari, the tondo was executed for or presented to Taddeo Taddei. In the early nineteenth century it was in the Wicar collection in Rome, from which it was purchased in 1823 by Sir George Beaumont and presented to the Royal Academy of Arts. It is claimed by Tolnay that the composition was inspired by a circular bronze relief ascribed to Donatello; this is improbable. The Child Christ, however, depends from a classical Medea sarcophagus (Horn, Tolnay). The relief is dated by Tolnay ca. 1505-6, and is regarded by Wölfflin and most other students as later in date than the Pitti tondo. This sequence is reversed by Kriegbaum. There is explicit evidence for the dating of the present relief in a sheet in the British Museum containing studies for the figure of St. John (Frey). A detailed analysis of the drawing by Wilde proves that these are contemporary with studies on the same sheet for the Bruges Madonna and must therefore be assigned to the years 1503-4. Wittkower (in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxviii, 1941, p. 133) observes that the surface 'has been almost completely gone over by a pupil'. This view is also adopted by Tolnay, who claims that 'in its details, see, for example, the faces or the right arm of the Christ Child, and the folds of the Madonna's cloak, it seems to have been retouched by the hand of an apprentice'. The apparent differences in technique between the two reliefs are due to the fact that the greater part of the figure of Christ and the head of the Virgin are more fully worked up than the corresponding parts of the Pitti Madonna.

Plate 4: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH  
THE YOUNG ST. JOHN  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The earliest reference to the relief occurs in the first edition of the *Vite* of Vasari: 'Et ancora in questo tempo abbozzò et non finì due tondi di marmo, uno a Taddeo Taddei, oggi in casa sua, ed a Bartolomeo Pitti ne cominciò un altro; il quale da Fra Miniato Pitti di Monte Oliveto, intendente e raro nella cosmografia ed in molte scienze, e particolarmente nella

pittura, fu donato a Luigi Guicciardini, che gli era grande amico. Le quali opere furono tenute egregie e mirabili' (And at this time also he began, but did not finish, two roundels of marble, one for Taddeo Taddei, which is now in his house, and another which he began for Bartolommeo Pitti. This one was given by Fra Miniato Pitti of Monte Oliveto, a man with a rare understanding of cosmography and many other sciences, particularly of painting, to Luigi Guicciardini, a great friend of his. These works were considered excellent and admirable). The relief was bought for the gallery of Florence in 1823, and was transferred in 1873 to the Bargello. A pen sketch possibly for the Virgin in this relief is identified by Tolnay at Chantilly. It is observed by Tolnay that the pose and drapery of the Virgin are inspired by the Prudentia of Jacopo della Quercia on the Fonte Gaia at Siena, and that the composition contains reminiscences of the tondo by Signorelli in the Uffizi, Florence. These analogies are insubstantial, and represent parallelisms rather than sources of influence. The pose of the Child Christ, however, derives from the Phaedra sarcophagus at Pisa (for this see J. Wilde, in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, iv, 1932, p. 41 ff.). The relief is regarded by Thode, Justi, Wölfflin, Tolnay and most other students, as earlier in date than the Taddei tondo (q.v.), and is generally assigned to the years 1504-5. This sequence is inverted by Kriegbaum, who dates the present relief ca. 1508. In favour of the inverted sequence, though not necessarily of so late a dating, are (i) the fact the relief is planned with a concave, not with a flat ground; (ii) the more diversified relief style; and (iii) the compressed pose of the central figure (which is interpreted by Wölfflin as a 'Vorgängerin' of the Delphic Sibyl on the Sistine ceiling and is more evolved than the Virgin of the Taddei tondo). The left side of the relief is imperfectly legible, and the formal motivation of the figure of St. John (apparently with the right hand resting on a wall) is unexplained. The coarse parallel chisel strokes in this area belong to an early stage of the carving, and traces of them occur again above the left shoulder of the Child Christ. The background is fully excavated only in the right upper section of the relief. In technique the worked up sections (confined in the main to the Virgin's head, throat and robe) are indistinguishable from those of the Taddei tondo. A precedent for the concave ground occurs in a relief by Francesco di Simone in the North Carolina Museum of Art.

Plate 6: THE VIRGIN WITH  
THE DEAD CHRIST  
St. Peter's, Rome

The group is signed on the ribbon across the breast: MICHAEL-  
AGELVS. BONAROTVS. FLORENTIN. FACIEBAT. It was commissioned  
by Cardinal Jean Villier de la Grolaie (Abbot of Saint-Denis  
1474: Cardinal of Santa Sabina 1493; d. 6 August 1499), and is  
described by Condivi in the following terms: 'Poco dipoi, a  
requisizione del cardinal di San Dionigi, chiamato il cardinal  
Rovano, in un pezzo di marmo fece quella maravigliosa statua  
di Nostra Donna, (la) qual'è oggi nella Madonna della Febbre,  
avvengachè da principio fosse posta nella chiesa di Santa

Petronilla, cappella del re di Francia, vicina alla sagrestia di San Piero, già secondo alcuni tempio di Marte, la quale per rispetto del disegno della nuova chiesa fu da Bramante rovinata. Questa se ne sta a sedere in sul sasso, dove fu fitta la croce, col Figliuol morto in grembo, di tanta e così rara bellezza, che nessun la vede che dentro a pietà non si commuova. Immagine veramente degna di quella umanità, che al Figliuol d'Iddio si conveniva ed a cotanta Madre. Sebben sono alcuni, che in essa Madre riprendano l'esser troppo giovane, rispetto al Figliuolo. Del che ragionando io con Michelagnolo un giorno: "Non sai tu, mi rispose, che le donne caste molto più fresche si mantengono che le non caste? Quanto maggiormente una vergine, nella quale non cadesse mai pur un minimo lascivo desiderio, che alterasse quel corpo? Anzi ti vo' dir di più, che tal freschezza e fior di gioventù, oltracchè per tal natural via in lei si mantenesse, è anco credibile che per divin'opera fosse aiutato a comprovare al mondo la verginità e purità perpetua della Madre. Il che non fu necessario al Figlio; anzi piuttosto il contrario, perciocchè volendo mostrare che'l Filiguol di Iddio prendesse, come pure, veramente corpo umano, e sottoposto a tutto quel che un ordinario uomo soggiace, eccettochè al peccato, non bisognò col divino tener indietro l'umano, ma lasciarlo nel corso ed ordine suo, sicchè quel tempo mostrasse che aveva appunto. Pertanto non t'hai da maravigliare, se per tal rispetto io feci la Santissima Vergine, Madre d'Iddio, a comparazione del Figliuolo assai più giovane di quel che quell'età ordinariamente ricerca e il Figliuolo lasciò nell'età sua" (A little later, at the request of the Cardinal of Saint-Denis, called the Cardinal Rovano, he made in marble that marvellous statue of Our Lady which is today in the chapel of the Madonna della Febbre. It was placed at first in the church of S. Petronilla in the chapel of the King of France, near the sacristy of St. Peter's and formerly, according to some, a temple of Mars; but this building was destroyed by Bramante, on account of his design for the new church. The figure sits on the rock where the Cross was set up, with her Son dead in her lap; and it is of so great and rare beauty, that no one sees it without being moved to pity. It is an image truly worthy of that humanity proper to the Son of God and to such a Mother. However, there are some who criticise the Mother for being too young in relation to her Son. I was discussing this one day with Michelangelo, and he replied to me: 'Do you not know that chaste women stay fresh much more than those who are not chaste? How much more in the case of a Virgin, who had never experienced the least lascivious desire that might change her body? Moreover, it is likely that such freshness and flower of youth, besides being maintained in her by natural means, were assisted by act of God, to prove to the world the virginity and everlasting purity of the Mother. This was not necessary in the case of the Son. On the contrary, in order to show that the Son of God might truly take on, as he did, a human body, and be subjected to all that an ordinary man suffers, except sin, there was no need to restrain the human in him by means of the divine; rather was it necessary to leave it to take its own course and order, so that time might show exactly how long he had lived. So you need not be surprised if I made, for this reason, the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, seem much younger in relation to her Son than a woman of that age

usually appears, and left the Son of God at his proper age"). Vasari's accounts in the editions of 1550 and 1568 differ only in detail, and stress the naturalism displayed in the body of Christ. Vasari explains the presence of Michelangelo's signature on the group by the fact that he had overheard onlookers ascribing it to the Milanese sculptor, Cristoforo Solari. The earliest reference to the group occurs in a letter from the Cardinal to the Anziani of Lucca of 18 November 1497, containing a request for 'ogni aiuto e favore' for Michelangelo on a forthcoming visit to Carrara to choose marble for the group ('una Vergine Maria vestita con Cristo morto, nudo in braccia'). On 10 March 1498 Michelangelo was still in Rome, but at the end of March he appears to have left for Carrara. A letter of 7 April 1498 from the Cardinal to the Signoria of Florence asks the Signoria to recommend Michelangelo to Marchese Alberico Malaspina, lord of Carrara. This was acknowledged on 18 April 1498, when a letter was also despatched by the Signoria to Malaspina. After the block had been procured, a contract was signed between the Cardinal and the sculptor (Milanesi, pp. 613-4): 'Die xxvij mensis augusti 1498. Sia noto et manifesto a chi legerà la presente scripta, come el reverendissimo cardinal di San Dionisio si è convenuto con mastro Michelangelo statuario fiorentino, che lo dicto maestro debia far una Pietà di marmo a sue spese, ciò è una Vergine Maria vestita, con Christo morto in braccio, grande quanto sia uno homo iusto, per prezo di ducati quattrocento cinquanta d'oro in oro papali, in termino di uno anno dal dì della principiata opera. Et lo dicto reverendissimo Cardinale promette farli lo pagamento in questo modo, ciò è: Imprimis promette darli ducati centocinquanta d'oro in oro papali, innanti che comenzi l'opera: et da poi principiata l'opera promette ogni quattro mesi darli ducati cento simili al dicto Michelangelo, in modo che li dicti quattro cento cinquanta ducati d'oro in oro papali siano finiti di pagarli in uno anno, se la dicta opera sarà finita; et se prima sarà finita, che la sua reverendissima Signoria prima sia obligato a pagarla del tutto. Et io Iacopo Gallo prometto al reverendissimo Monsignore che lo dicto Michelangelo farà la dicta opera in fra uno anno et sarà la più bella opera di marmo che sia hoge in Roma, et che maestro nisuno la faria megliore hoge. Et si versa vice prometto al ditto Michelangelo che lo reverendissimo Cardinale la farà lo pagamento secundo che de sopra è scripto. Et a fede io Iacopo Gallo ho facta la presente di mia propria mano, anno, mese, et dì sopradito. Intendendosi per questa scripta esser cassa et annullata ogni altra scripta di mano mia, o vero di mano del dicto Michelangelo, et questa sola habia effecto. Hane dati il dicto reverendissimo Cardinale a me Iacopo più tempo fa ducati cento d'oro in oro di Camera et a dì dicto ducati cinquanta d'oro in oro papali' (27 August 1498). Let it be known and clear to the reader of this document that the Rev. Cardinal of Saint-Denis has agreed with Master Michelangelo, the Florentine sculptor, that he, the said Master, is to make at his expense a life-size marble Pietà, that is, a draped Virgin Mary with the Dead Christ in her arms, for a fee of 450 gold papal ducats, within one year of the day of commencement of the work. And the said Rev. Cardinal undertakes to make the payment to him in the following way: He undertakes firstly to give him 150 gold papal ducats before he begins the work; he

undertakes, further, once the work has been begun, to give Michelangelo 100 of the same ducats every four months, so that the 450 gold papal ducats will have been fully paid up within one year, if the work is finished; and if it has been finished before that date, His Rev. Lordship will be obliged to pay him the complete amount before the date also. And I, Iacopo Gallo, promise the Rev. Monsignor that Michelangelo will make the work within one year, and that it will be the most beautiful marble work presently in Rome, and that no other present master would do it better. And, in turn, I promise Michelangelo that the Rev. Cardinal will make the payments according to this agreement. And in good faith I, Iacopo Gallo, have drawn up this deed with my own hand on the above date. It is understood that, through this deed, all other deeds, either from my hand or from Michelangelo's, are made null and void, and this one alone is effective. The Rev. Cardinal some time ago gave me, Iacopo, 100 gold Camera ducats and 50 gold papal ducats).

The date of completion of the group is not recorded; it is generally assumed to have been finished in 1499 (Tolnay) or 1500 (Kriegbaum). Four fingers on the left hand of the Virgin were restored in 1736 by Giuseppe Lirioni; it has been claimed alternatively that the restored fingers are incorrect and rhetorical (Wittkower) or generally exact (Tolnay). Tolnay observes of the Pietà that 'almost all the leading Florentine artists of the day, both painters and sculptors, had treated the subject'. This is true of painting (e.g. the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, commissioned from Filippino Lippi on 7 March 1495 for the Certosa at Pavia, and the altarpiece of the same subject painted by Sellajo in 1483 for the Confraternity of San Frediano), but not of sculpture. Precedents cited for the group include a German sculptured Pietà in San Domenico at Bologna (Tolnay), Northern Vesperbilder (Kriegbaum), and French sculptured Pietas (Justi). The fact that the group was commissioned by a French Cardinal suggests that these last groups may have been in the donor's (though not necessarily in the sculptor's) mind. The group was first installed in the Chapel of the Kings of France, which was selected and decorated by the Cardinal as his funerary chapel (for this see Caconius, iii, p. 169), was subsequently shown in the Cappella della Vergine Maria della Febbre, where it was seen by Vasari and Condivi, was transferred under Gregory XIII to the Chapel of Sixtus IV, and in 1749 was moved to its present site in the first chapel on the north side of the church.

#### Plate 7: VIRGIN AND CHILD Notre Dame, Bruges

The group is not mentioned in the 1550 edition of Vasari, and is wrongly described by Condivi as in bronze: 'Gittò anco di bronzo una Madonna col suo figliuolino in grembo, la quale da certi mercanti fiandresi de' Moscheroni, famiglia nobilissima in casa sua, pagatagli ducati cento, fu mandata in Fiandra' (He cast in bronze a Madonna with her baby son in her lap, which was sent to Flanders by some Flemish merchants called Mouscron, a very noble family in their native country; and they paid him

100 ducats for it). This passage is the source of a mistaken description in the 1568 edition of the *Vite* of Vasari: 'Fece ancora di bronzo una Nostra Donna in un tondo, che lo gettò di bronzo a requisizione di certi mercatanti fiamensi de' Moscheroni, persone nobilissime ne' paesi loro che pagatogli scudi cento, la mandassero in Fiandra'. The group has been wrongly identified with a Virgin and Child mentioned by Michelangelo in a letter to his father of 31 January 1506: 'L'altra è quella Nostra Donna di marmo, similmente vorrei la facesse portare così in casa e non la lasciassi vedere a persona. Io non vi mando e' danari per queste due cose, perchè stimo che sia picola cosa' (The other is the marble Madonna, and I would like this brought home too without anyone being allowed to see it. I am sending no money for these two things, as I think it will be a small matter). The work to which this letter refers was evidently of small dimensions, and is tentatively identified by Milanesi with the Madonna of the Steps. The only firm indication of the date of the Bruges Madonna is supplied by a letter of 13 August 1506 written by Giovanni Balducci to Michelangelo. This refers to the despatch of the group in the following terms: 'Resto avvisato come Francesco del Pugliese avrebbe comodità al mandarla a Viareggio, e da Viareggio in Fiandra. . . . E quando con lui siate d'accordo, l'adirizzate in Fiandra, cioè a Bruggia, a rede di Giovanni e Alessandro Moscheroni e comp., come cosa loro' (I gather Francesco del Pugliese will have an opportunity to send it to Viareggio, and from Viareggio to Flanders. . . . And when you have agreed with him, send it to Flanders, that is to Bruges, to the firm of Jean and Alexandre Mouscron & Co., as their own). The firm of Mouscron bought and sold English cloth, and had establishments in Rome and Florence. The context for which the group was planned is elucidated (i) by a document in the Archives at Bruges (quoted by Tolnay, 'Michelangelostudien', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, liv, 1933, p. 113n.), according to which 'Alexander Mosaren . . . helft te maken eenen nieuen outaer ende daerbouen te stellene eene sumptuose tabernekele met eene der excellente beelde van Marie seer rikelic ende costelic, de velcke beelde men niet verstellen en sal moghen in toecomende tyden' (Alexander Mouscron . . . commissions a new altar, and also the erection of a sumptuous tabernacle with an excellent statue of the Virgin Mary, very handsome and costly, which is not to be moved in future), and (ii) by a passage from Marcus van Waernewyck (1560) quoted by Thode (*Kritische Untersuchungen*, i, p. 60) which states that the statue cost four thousand gulden and that 'on doit l'entourer d'un retable, dont Jan de Heere de Gent a donné le plan et son fils Lucas le dessin'. The black and white marble setting to which the second passage refers was completed in 1571. The statue was seen and described by Dürer during his visit to the Netherlands on 7 April 1521. It has been correctly pointed out (Wilde) that the statue is set wrongly on its plinth in the altar, and that the principal viewpoint is about 30° to the right of the one prescribed by its present pedestal. There is no literary evidence for the date at which the statue was begun, and it has been assumed to have been carved concurrently with the Pietà (Thode), in the spring or summer of 1501 before the David (Tolnay, Kriegbaum), and concurrently with the David (Wölfflin).

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arguments on which these hypotheses rest are purely stylistic. Two drawings in the British Museum, however, (Wilde, Nos. 4 and 5) contain studies for the Bruges Madonna, in one case accompanied by the inscription 'chose di bruges ch.' in another hand than Michelangelo's. Since No. 5 also includes studies for the fresco of the Battle of Cascina, it has been inferred (Wilde) that the drawings date from 1503-4 and that the statue was begun in 1504-5. This is very probable. A sheet of drawings in the Uffizi (No. 233F, B.B. 1645A) contains three studies apparently referring to an early stage in the evolution of the design; the autograph character of this sheet is maintained by Wilde, but its evidential value is not materially affected if it is assumed (Berenson, Dussler) to be a copy of a lost sheet by Michelangelo.

*Plate 9: THE PICCOLOMINI ALTAR*  
Duomo, Siena

The first reference to the Piccolomini Altar in Siena Cathedral occurs in a letter of 15 May 1481 from Platina to Lorenzo de' Medici. The altar was constructed by 1485, and is mentioned in 30 April 1503 in the will of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, where it is stated that the chapel had been commissioned as a memorial to the Cardinal himself and to his uncle Pope Pius II, and that in the event of the Cardinal dying in Siena it was to become his place of burial. The Cardinal was elected Pope as Pius III on 22 September 1503, and died in Rome on 18 October of the same year. On 22 May 1501 negotiations were begun with Michelangelo to provide sculptures for the niches of the altar, and in June of the same year a contract was signed by the Cardinal, the sculptor and Jacopo Galli (Milanesi, pp. 615-9). By this Michelangelo was required to carve fifteen statues 'di più bontà, meglio conducte, finite et a perfectione, che figure moderne sieno hogi in Roma' (of higher quality and better workmanship, finish and perfection than any modern figures now existing in Rome) in a term of three years. The figures were to comprise a Christ at the top two and a half braccia high 'per la distantia dell'occhio' (to allow for its distance from the eye of the spectator), a Christ in the central tribune flanked by figures of St. Thomas and St. John each two braccia in height, two angels 'in lo extremo dei cornici con le tronbette in mano minori quattro dita di due braccia' (on the ends of the cornice, with trumpets in their hands . . . (four dita less than two braccia)), and other figures still to be determined. A figure of St. Francis begun by Torrigiani 'non essendo quello finito di pannamenti et testa' (unfinished in the drapery and head) was to be finished by Michelangelo in such a way that it did not appear different from the other figures. After the Pope's death, the contract was reaffirmed by his heirs in a document of September 1504, according to which four statues had already been supplied by Michelangelo. At this point Michelangelo abandoned work on the statues. A letter of 28 June 1510 from Lodovico Buonarroti to Michelangelo refers to four pieces of marble 'che fecie venire più tempo fa . . . per fare quelle figure del Chardinal de Siena e che non le volendo tu, gliche faciesti dare a Baccio demonte Lupo' (which you had brought some time ago . . . to make those figures for the

Cardinal of Siena, and which, as you did not want them, you had given to Baccio da Montelupo). This is cited by Tolnay as evidence that the figures on the altar were carved by Baccio da Montelupo; it relates, however, to the disposal of four blocks (for which payment was made by Baccio da Montelupo) after work on the altar had been broken off. In 1537 Antonmaria Piccolomini requested Michelangelo to furnish designs for the completion of the altar, and at the extreme end of his life, in 1561, Michelangelo's thoughts reverted to the broken contract. Presumably at his own request he was, before 30 November 1561, absolved by Francesco Bandini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, from his outstanding obligations. An inventory of 1511 states that the four figures carved by Michelangelo represented Saints Peter, Paul, Pius and Gregory. Despite this cumulative evidence of Michelangelo's responsibility for the sculptures, their authorship is challenged by Tolnay and most earlier students save Thode and Schmarsow. Their readmission to the Michelangelo oeuvre is due to Kriegbaum ('Le statue di Michelangelo nell'altare dei Piccolomini a Siena', in *Michelangelo Buonarroti nel IV Centenario del Giudizio Universale*, Rome, 1940, p. 86 ff.). Omitting the St. Francis (which was begun by Torrigiani and completed by Michelangelo), the statuettes comprise figures of Saints Paul, Pius, Peter and Gregory the Great. It is assumed by Kriegbaum that the St. Paul is the earliest of the figures, and occupies a median point in style between the St. Peter's Pietà and the Bruges Madonna. Work on the figures would then have been delayed by the carving of the David. The latest of the four figures is the St. Pius, which is datable about 1504; this figure may have been included in the scheme after the election of the Cardinal as Pope in the preceding year. Between these statuettes there intervene the St. Peter (Fig. 4) (datable ca. 1502) and the somewhat less mellifluous St. Gregory. It is inferred by Tolnay that of the figures (which with the St. Francis would have numbered sixteen in all) three were destined for the central niche, six for the lateral niches, two for the extremities of the cornice, and five for the superstructure of the altar.

Plate 10: BACCHUS  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The statue was carved for Jacopo Galli, and is described in the Galli garden in Aldovrandi's *Delle statue antiche* (written 1550, published 1556, pp. 172-3): 'Più à dentro in uno giardinetto si trova un bel Bacco ignudo in pie con ghirlanda di hellera, ò di vite in capo: ha da man manca un satirello sopra un tronco assiso, e con amendue le mani si pone in bocca de'grappi de l'uva, ò hellera, che ha il Bacco in mano: Il Satirello ha i piè di capra, e le orecchie medesimamente, ha le corna anche e la coda. Questa è opera moderna di Michele Agnolo fatta da lui, quando era giovane' (Further inside, in a small garden, is a beautiful nude standing Bacchus, with a wreath of ivy or vines on its head. On its left it has a little satyr, sitting on a tree-trunk and using both hands to put in its mouth some of the grapes on the vine or ivy branch which the Bacchus has in its hand. The little satyr has the feet of a goat and ears likewise, and the horns

and tail too. This is a modern work, made by Michelangelo when he was young). The figure is described in 1550 in the first edition of Vasari in the following terms: 'un Bacco di marmo, maggior ch'el vivo, con un satiro attorno; nel quale si conosce ch'egli ha voluto tenere una certa mistione di membra maravigliose: et particolarmente avergli dato la sveltezza della gioventù del maschio, e la carnosità et tondezza della femmina. Cosa tanto mirabile, che nelle statue mostrò essere eccellente più d'ogni altro moderno, il quale sino all'ora avesse lavorato' (A marble Bacchus, over life-size, with a satyr by it. One can see that he wished to have a certain marvellous blend of the limbs in it, particularly to give them both the slenderness of a young man and the fleshiness and roundness of a woman. This is so wonderful, that he shows himself in these figures to excel any other sculptor of the modern age who has worked up to the present time). In the second edition of the *Vite* this account is somewhat amplified, apparently in the light of a passage in Condivi (1553) dealing with the statue. The latter reads as follows: 'Non però mancò chi tal comodità conoscesse e di lui si servisse; perciocchè messer Iacopo Galli, gentiluomo romano e di bello ingegno, gli fece fare in casa sua un Bacco di marmo di palmi dieci, la cui forma ed aspetto corrisponde in ogni parte all'intenzione dellli scrittori antichi. La faccia lieta e gli occhi biechi e lascivi, quali sogliono essere quelli di coloro che soverchiamente dall'amor del vino son presi. Ha nella destra una tazza, in guisa d'un che voglia bere, ad essa rimirando, come quel che prende piacere di quel liquore, di ch'egli è stato inventore; per il quale rispetto ha cinto il capo d'una ghirlanda di viti. Nel sinistro braccio ha una pelle di tigre, animale ad esso dedicato, come quel che molto si diletta dell'uva; e vi fece piuttosto la pelle che l'animale, volendo significare che per lasciarsi cotanto tirar dal senso e dall'appetito di quel frutto e del liquor d'esso, vi lascia ultimamente la vita. Colla mano di questo braccio tiene un grappolo d'uva, qual un satirello, che a piè di lui è posto, furtivamente si mangia allegro e snello, che mostra circa sette anni, come il Bacco diciotto. Volle anco detto messer Iacopo ch'egli facesse un Cupidine; e l'una e l'altra di queste opere oggidì si veggono in casa di messer Giuliano e messer Paolo Galli, gentiluomini cortesi e da bene, coi quali Michelagnolo ha sempre ritenuta intrinseca amicizia' (Michelangelo did not lack someone to recognise his ability and make use of him; for Master Iacopo Galli, a Roman gentleman of great intelligence, had him make in his house a marble Bacchus, 10 palmi high, the form and appearance of which correspond in every particular to the meaning of the ancient writers. The face is joyful, and the eyes squinting and wanton, as are the eyes of those who are too much addicted to love of wine. He has a cup in his right hand, as if about to drink, and is gazing at it like one who takes pleasure in that liquor, which he discovered; and because he was its discoverer, Michelangelo has bound his head with a wreath of vine. On his left arm he has the skin of a tiger, an animal which is dedicated to him because it takes much delight in the grape; and he carved the skin there, rather than the animal, because he wished to signify that, if one lets oneself be drawn by the senses and by desire of that fruit and its juice, one ends by losing one's life. In the hand of this arm he holds a bunch of grapes, which a lively and nimble little satyr

at his feet is slyly eating; the satyr seems to be about seven years old, and Bacchus about eighteen. Master Iacopo also wished him to make a Cupid; and both of these works are nowadays to be seen in the house of Master Giuliano and Master Paolo Galli, courteous and worthy gentlemen, with whom Michelangelo has always maintained a close friendship).

A drawing by Heemskerck of the Galli garden (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin), datable in the years 1532-5, shows the statue without the goblet and right hand. There is contributory evidence that the right hand was missing at this time. It is, however, described in 1553 by Condivi, and was presumably replaced before the latter year. A reduced bronze copy by Pietro da Barga in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, shows the statue as it is to-day. The Bacchus was bought from the Galli family by Francesco de' Medici in 1572 for 240 ducats, and was transferred to the Bargello in 1873. The statue was carved after Michelangelo's arrival in Rome on 25 June 1496 and before his return to Florence in the spring of 1501. There is some disagreement as to the exact date to which it should be assigned within this bracket of years, and in particular as to its relationship to the Pietà (commissioned 27 August 1498). It has been argued (i) (Wilde, Tolnay) that it is identical with a statue of unspecified subject carved for Cardinal Raffaello Riario to which reference is made in letters of Michelangelo of 2 July 1496 and 1 July 1497, and was purchased by Galli only after it had been rejected by Riario; (ii) (Frey) that it is not identical with this statue and must have been begun after this time because it is not mentioned in a letter of 18 August 1497; (iii) (Kriegbaum) that it was carved concurrently with the Pietà and is therefore datable between 1497 and 1501; (iv) (Wölfflin) that it must on stylistic grounds be dated after the Pietà. The identification with the statue carved for Cardinal Riario is conjectural, and the argument in (ii) has some force. The probability, therefore, is that the statue was begun after 18 August 1497 and was completed before the commencement of the Pietà in the following year. The possibility that the Bacchus is identical with 'una figura per mio piacere' which is mentioned by Michelangelo in the letter of 19 August 1497 cannot, however, be wholly ruled out. It has not been established on which classical Bacchus statue the figure is based; discussion has centred in the main (Wickhoff, Lanckorončka, Tolnay) on groups in the Albani collection and in the Museo Chiaramonte of the Vatican. As noted by Tolnay, the effeminate body of the Bacchus is inspired by literary sources. The poles of interpretation of the statue vary between those of Wölfflin ('er habe hier ganz ohne Zwang gearbeitet') and Tolnay, who identifies its subject as 'the inner essence of the god Bacchus as a cosmic symbol', and explains the three heads as representing death (the animal mask), the renewal of life (the satyr) and the decline of life (Bacchus). The permissible limits of interpretation of the figure are those established by Condivi. Tolnay assumes that the surface of the statue was 'originally polished (but) has lost its smooth polish', while Frey describes it as 'nach spätrömischer Art polirt und, wie gewöhnlich, getönt'. It is known that the Sleeping Cupid purchased by Cardinal Riario was toned to simulate an antique, and there is a presumption that the Bacchus was treated in the same way. The authenticity of the present

right hand and of the cup is contested by Wind ('A Bacchic Mystery by Michelangelo,' in *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, New Haven, 1958, pp. 147-57), who connects the expression of the face with the 'demonic Alcibiadic spirit' revealed in the *Phaedrus* of Sadolet, a dialogue set in the villa of Jacopo Galli.

Plate 12: DAVID  
Accademia, Florence

The earliest account of the David occurs in the 1550 edition of Vasari: 'Gli fu scritto di Fiorenza d'alcuni amici suoi, che venisse: perche non era fuor di proposito, che di quel marmo ch'era nell'opera guasto, egli, come già n'ebbe volontà ne cavasse una figura, il quale marmo Pier Soderini già Gonfaloniere in quella città, ragionò di dare a Lionardo da Vinci: et era di nove braccia bellissimo; nel quale per mala sorte un Maestro Simone da Fiesole aveva cominciato un' gigante. Et si mal concia era quella opera, che lo aveva bucato fra le gambe, et tutto mal condotto, et storpiato di modo che gli operai di Santa Maria del Fiore, che sopra tal cosa erano, senza curar di finirlo, per morto l'avevano posto in abbandono: et già molti anni era così stato, et era tuttavia per istare. Squadrolo Michele Agnolo un giorno; et esaminando potersi una ragionevole figura di quel sasso cavare, accomodandosi al sasso ch'era rimaso storpiato da maestro Simone: si risolse di chiederlo a gli operai; da i quali per cosa inutile gli fu conceduto, pensando che ogni cosa, che se ne facesse, fosse migliore, che lo essere, nel quale allora si ritrovava: perche ne spezzato, ne in quel modo concio, utile alcuno alla fabbrica non faceva. La onde Michele Agnolo fatto un modello di cera, finse in quello, per la insegnza del palazzo, un Davit giovane, con una frombola in mano. A ciò che si come egli aveva difeso il suo popolo: et governatolo con giustizia, cosiché governava quella città dovesse animosamente difenderla, et giustamente governarla. Et lo cominciò nell'opera di Santa Maria del Fiore: nella quale fece una turata fra muro et tavole et il marmo circondato: et quello di continuo lavorando, senza che nessuno il vedesse, a ultima perfezione lo condusse. Et perche il marmo già da Maestro Simone storpiato et guasto, non era in alcun luoghi tanto, ch'alla volontà di Michele Agnolo bastasse, per quel che avrebbe voluto fare: egli fece, che rimasero in esso delle prime scarpellate di maestro Simone nella estremità del marmo, delle quali se ne vede alcuna. Et certo fu miracolo quello di Michele Agnolo far risuscitare uno, ch'era tenuto per morto . . . veramente che questa opera ha tolto il grido a tutte le statue moderne et antiche, o Greche o Latine che elle si fossero. Et si puo dire, che ne 'l Marforio di Roma ne il Tevere, o 'l Nilo di Belvedere, ne il giganti di Monte Cavallo, le sian simil'in conto alcuno con tanta misura, et bellezza e con tanta bontà la fini Michel'Agnolo. Perche in essa sono contorni di gambe bellissime, et appiccature, e sueltezza di fianchi divine: ne mai più s'è veduto un posamento si dolce, ne grazia che tal cosa pareggi; ne piedi ne mani, ne testa, che a ogni suo membro di bontà, d'artificio et di parita ne di disegno s'accordi tanto. E certo chi vede questa, non dee curarsi di vedere altra opera di scultura fatta nei nostri tempi o ne gli altri da qual si voglia artefice. N'ebbe Michel'Agnolo da Pier

Soderini per sua mercede scudi DCCC. et fu rizzata l'anno MDIII' (Some of his friends wrote to him from Florence, telling him to return, since it was possible he might, as he had wished, carve a figure from the spoiled block of marble in the Opera; Piero Soderini, Gonfalonier of the city, had talked of giving the marble to Leonardo da Vinci. It was nine braccia of the most beautiful marble, but one Maestro Simone da Fiesole had unfortunately started a large figure in it. And the work had been done so badly, that he had made a hole between the legs; and it was altogether bungled and ruined, so much so that the Operai of S. Maria del Fiore, who were in charge, had given it up for dead without bothering to finish it. It had been like this for many years, and was likely to remain so. Michelangelo measured it up one day and considered whether it was possible to carve a reasonable figure from this block, left ruined by Maestro Simone. He decided to ask the Operai for it, and they granted it to him as a thing of no use, thinking that whatever he might make of it would be better than the state it was in then; for it was of no use to their building, either in pieces or in that condition. So Michelangelo made a wax model and portrayed in it, as a device for the palace, a young David with a sling in his hand: as he had defended his people and governed them with justice, so might whoever governed the city defend it bravely and govern it justly. He began it in the Opera of S. Maria del Fiore; he made an enclosure of wood and masonry to surround the marble, and worked on it continuously, without anyone seeing it, and brought it to complete perfection. Because the marble had been spoiled and mutilated by Maestro Simone, it was not in some places sufficient to satisfy Michelangelo's wishes for what he would have liked to do with it. He therefore let some of the old marks of Maestro Simone's chisel remain on the outside of the marble, and one can still see some of them. It was indeed a miracle on Michelangelo's part to resurrect a thing considered dead . . . this work has surpassed all other statues, modern and ancient, Greek and Roman. One can say that neither the Marforio in Rome, nor the Tiber or the Nile in the Belvedere, nor the Giants of Monte Cavallo equal it in any way, with such proportion, beauty and excellence did Michelangelo finish it. For one can see in it the legs turned most beautifully, and an articulation and a slenderness of the hips that are god-like. Nor has there ever been seen a pose so fluent, or a gracefulness equal to this, or feet, hands and head so well related to each other with quality, skill and design. Certainly, whoever has seen this work need not bother to see any other work made in sculpture, either in our own or other times, by any craftsman. Michelangelo was paid 800 scudi for it by Piero Soderini, and it was set up in 1504).

Condivi's account reads as follows: 'Fatte queste cose, per suoi domestici negozi fu sforzato tornarsene a Firenze, dove dimorato alquanto, fece quella statua, ch'è posta infin a oggi innanzi alla porta del Palazzo della Signoria, nell'estremo della ringhiera, chiamata da tutti il Gigante. E passò la cosa in questo modo. Avevano gli Operai di santa Maria del Fiore un pezzo di marmo d'altezza di braccia nove, qual'era stata condotto da Carrara di cento anni innanzi da un artefice, per quel che veder si potea, non più pratico che si bisognasse. Perciò per poterlo condur più comodamente e con manco fatica l'aveva nella cava

medesima bozzato, ma di tal maniera che nè a lui, nè ad altri bastò giammai l'animo di porvi mano per cavarne statua, non che di quella grandezza, ma nè anco di molto minor statura. Poichè di tal pezzo di marmo non potevano cavar cosa che buona fosse, parve a un Andrea dal Monte a San Savino di poterlo ottener da loro, e gli ricercò che gliene facessero un presente, promettendo che aggiungendovi certi pezzi ne caverebbe una figura. Ma essi, prima che si disponessero a darlo, mandarono per Michelagnolo, e narrandogli il desiderio e'l parer d'Andrea, ed intesa la confidenza che egli aveva di cavarne cosa buona, finalmente l'offerirno a lui. Michelagnolo l'accettò e senza altri pezzi ne trasse la già detta statua, così appunto che, come si può vedere nella sommità del capo e nel posamento, n'apparisce ancor la scorsa vecchia del marmo . . . Ebbe di quest'opera ducati quattrocento e condussela in mesi diciotto' (When he had done these things, he was compelled for private reasons to return to Florence, where he stayed for a time and made the statue which stands to this day at the end of the balustrade, before the door of the Palazzo della Signoria, and is called by all 'il Gigante'. It came about in the following way. The Operai of Santa Maria del Fiore had a piece of marble 9 braccia high; it had been brought from Carrara a hundred years before by a craftsman who, judging by what one can see, was no more skilful than he should have been. For, so that he might be able to transport it more conveniently and with less labour, he had blocked it out in the quarry itself; but he had done it in such a way, that neither he nor anyone else had had the heart to put hand to it and carve a statue, either of that great size or much smaller. As they could not carve anything good from this piece of marble, a certain Andrea from Monte San Savino thought he could get it from them, and asked them to give it to him, promising to carve a figure from it by adding to it some pieces of marble. But before deciding to give it to him, they sent for Michelangelo, told him of Andrea's desire and opinion, and that they had heard of Michelangelo's confidence that he could carve something good from it, and finally offered it to him. Michelangelo accepted it and, without adding any more pieces, worked from it this statue, with such precision that one can still see the original surface of the marble appearing on the top of the head and on the base . . . He received 400 ducats for this work, and executed it in 18 months).

The 1568 edition of Vasari amends the price to the figure quoted by Condivi, adds a reference to Andrea Sansovino (also deriving from Condivi), and introduces a now well-known story of Soderini's criticism of the statue and of Michelangelo's reply. The block from which the David is carved was originally destined for one of the Giganti on the Cathedral. Between 16 April and 23 November 1463 'uno gughante overo Erchole per porre in sullo edificio et chiesa di sancta Maria del Fiore' was carved by Agostino di Duccio. On 18 August 1464 a second 'gughante e in vece et nome . . . profeta per porre in summo degli sproni di s. Maria del Fiore d'atorno alla tribuna di detta chiesa' was commissioned. It was originally intended that this should be made of four pieces, but on 20 December 1466 a block was quarried which enabled it to be carved in a single piece. According to Milanesi (in Vasari, vii, p. 153 n.), this block was spoiled not by Agostino di Duccio but by Bartolommeo

di Pietro detto Baccellino, who was entrusted with blocking out the figure at Carrara. On 6 May 1476 the block was allotted to Antonio Rossellino, who died not long afterwards. From a record of the meeting of the Operai of the Duomo on 2 July 1501 (Milanesi, pp. 620-3), it appears that the figure represented was from the first to have been a David: 'Operarii deliberaverunt quod quidam homo ex marmore vocato David male abozatum et sculptum existentem in curte dicte Opere, et desiderantes talem gigantem erigi, et elevari in altum per magistros dicte Opere in pedes stare, ad hoc ut videatur per magistros in hoc expertos, si possit absolvit et finiri' (The Operai considered the marble male figure known as 'David', which had been badly blocked out and carved, and now lies in the courtyard of the Opera; they wish this giant figure to be erected and raised by the masters of the Opera, so as to stand upright, so that it may be seen by masters experienced in this whether it can be carried through and finished). Condivi's statements make it clear that the pose of the figure was determined by a cavity between the legs, and that the top of the head was also carved. In view, however, of the reference in 1501 to finishing the statue, it is likely that the whole block had been more extensively carved than Condivi suggests. The commission was allotted to Michelangelo on 16 August 1501: 'Spectabiles etc. viri Consules Artis Lane una cum dominis Operariis adunati in Audientia dicte Opere, elegerunt in sculptorem dicte Opere dignum magistrum Michelangelum Lodovici Bonarroti, civem florentinum, ad faciendum et perficiendum et perfecte finiendum quendam hominem vocato Gigante abozatum, brachiorum novem ex marmore, existentem in dicta Opera, olim abozatum per magistrum Augustinum grande de Florentia, et male abozatum, pro tempore et termino annorum duorum proxime futurorum, incipiendorum kalendis septembbris proxime futuri, et cum salario et mercede qualibet mense florenorum sex auri latorum de moneta; et quicquid opus esset eidem circa dictum edificium faciendum, Opera teneatur eidem presare et conmodare et homines dicte Opere et lignamina, et omnia quecumque alia quibus indigeret; et finito dicto opere et dicto homine marmoreo, tunc Consules et Operarii qui tunc erunt, iudicabunt an mereatur maius pretium; remicentes hoc eorum conscientiis. (In the margin: Incepit dictus Michelangelus laborare et sculpere dictum gigantem die 13 settembris 1501, et die lune de mane, quamquam prius . . . die eiusdem uno vel duobus ictibus scarpelli substulisset quoddam nodum quem habebat in pectore: sed dicto die incipit firmiter et fortiter laborare, dicto die 13 et die lune primo mane)' (The honourable Consuls of the Arte della Lana, together with the Masters of the Opera, having met in the council-room of the Opera, elected as sculptor of the Opera the worthy Master Michelangelo Lodovici Buonarroti, Florentine citizen. He is to make, carry through and complete the male figure known as the Giant, which was blocked out in marble nine braccia high and stands in the Opera; it was formerly blocked out by Master Agostino grande of Florence, and badly blocked out. He is to do it within the next two years, as from the next 1st. September, and at a monthly salary and reward of six broad golden florins cash; and whatever he needs for this, the Opera undertakes to lend and supply, whether it is workmen from the Opera, or timber,

or anything else he requires. When this work and marble figure have been finished, the Consuls and Operai who then hold office will judge according to their consciences whether it deserves a higher price. The said Michelangelo began working and carving this Giant on 13 September 1501, Monday morning, though . . . a day earlier he had removed a certain knob which there was on the figure's breast, with one or two strokes of the chisel; but it was on that day that he began to work steadily and strongly, the 13th, early Monday morning). On 25 January 1504 it was reported that the statue was 'quasi finita', and a number of Florentine artists were consulted as to the position in which it should be installed. The views expressed fell broadly into three classes (i) a minority (headed by a wood-carver Francesco Monciatto and supported by Botticelli) that it should be shown on or in the vicinity of the Cathedral; (ii) a widely held opinion that it should replace the Donatello Judith outside the Palazzo della Signoria or the Donatello David in the Cortile; (iii) a majority view (led by Giuliano da San Gallo and supported by Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo Bandinelli and Piero di Cosimo) that 'veduto la imperfectione del marmo, per lo essere tenere e chotto, et essendo stato all'acqua' (in view of the imperfection of the marble, as it was weak and brittle, and had stood in water), it should be shown under cover in the Loggia dei Lanzi either in the left (east) bay or at the back of the central bay. It was proposed by Giuliano da San Gallo that in the latter event it should be placed in a black niche. Two artists, one of whom was Filippino Lippi, suggested that the sculptor should be consulted on the placing of the statue. It has been claimed (Borghini, Panofsky) that the figure was planned as a niche figure. The fact that the back is less highly worked up than the front certainly supports the view that it was intended to be seen against a wall surface. It was eventually decided that the David should replace the Judith outside the Palazzo della Signoria, and the necessary instructions were issued on 28 May 1504. On 11 June 1504 a base was ordered for the statue ('Deliberaverunt quod . . . quam citius fieri potest facere faciant basam marmoream subtus et circum circa pedes gigantis ad presens ante portam eorum palatti existentis modo et forma et prout designabitur per Simonem del Pollaiuolo et Antonium de Sancto Gallo, architectores florentinos') (They decided that . . . they should make as quickly as possible a marble base under and around the feet of the Giant, at present in front of the gate of the Palazzo, the base to be in the style and shape designed by Simone del Pollaiuolo and Antonio da Sangallo, architects of Florence). The statue was disclosed on 8 September 1504. It was moved to its present site in the Accademia in 1873.

Plate 14: SAINT MATTHEW  
Accademia, Florence

The unfinished statue of St. Matthew (Figs. 9, 10) is listed by Condivi among a number of miscellaneous works ('un San Matteo in Firenze, il qual cominciò volendo far dodici Apostoli, quali dovevano andare dentro a' dodici pilastri nel Duomo'), and is described in greater detail in the 1568 edition of Vasari ('Ed in questo tempo ancora abbozzò una statua di marmo di

San Matteo nell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore; la quale statua così abbozzata mostra la sua perfezione, ed insegnà agli scultori in che maniera si cavano le figure de'marmi, senza che venghino storpiate, per potere sempre guadagnare col giudizio, levando del marmo, ed avervi da potersi ritrarre e mutare qualcosa, come accade, se bisognassi') (He blocked out at this time too a marble figure of St. Matthew in the Opera of S. Maria del Fiore. Even in its blocked out state it shows its perfection; and it is a lesson to sculptors in how to carve marble figures without spoiling them, by always managing to proceed with judgement in cutting away the marble, and by keeping a possibility of revising and changing things if necessary, as happens sometimes). The statue was the first of twelve projected figures which were intended to replace frescoes of the Apostles executed in the Duomo by Bicci di Lorenzo. A contract for the twelve statues was signed by Michelangelo on 24 April 1503 (Milanesi, pp. 625-6). According to this, 'spectabiles viri Consules Artis Lane . . . locaverunt Michelangelo Ludovici de Bonarrotis, sculptori et civi florentino, presenti et acceptanti, statuas duodecim Apostolorum fiendorum de marmore carriensi albo, altitudinis brachiorum quatuor et unius quarti quolibet statua dictorum duodecim Apostolorum, per dictum Michelangelum in honorem Dei, famam totius civitatis, et in ornamentum dicte civitatis et dicte ecclesie Sancte Marie del Fiore' (The honourable Consoli of the Arte della Lana have commissioned from Michelangelo Lodovici Buonarotti, sculptor and citizen of Florence, in his presence and with his agreement, twelve statues of Apostles. Each of the aforesaid twelve statues of the Apostles is to be made of white Carrara marble, 4½ braccia high, by the aforesaid Michelangelo, to the glory of God, the fame of the whole city, and the ornament of the city and of the church of S. Maria del Fiore). A term of twelve years was fixed for the completion of the work, 'et videlicet anno unam absolutam et perfectam ad minus' (that is, at least one completed and finished a year), and Michelangelo was to go to Carrara forthwith to obtain the necessary marble blocks. Michelangelo was to be paid his own and his assistant's expenses on the twelve Apostles, but not for more than one assistant. The sculptor was to receive 'florenos duos auri largos in auro quolibet mense, durantibus dictis XII annis libere et absque aliqua retentione' (two broad golden florins in gold each month during the twelve years, freely and promptly). In addition the Consuls agreed 'dare et tradere et consignare Michelangelo predicto situm unum per eos hodie emptum in angulo vie Pinti. . . Super quo solo, prefati Consules et Operarii predicti teneantur murare unam domum pro habitatione dicti Michelangeli . . . secundum modellum factum vel fiendum per Simonem del Pollaiuolo' (to give, make over and consign to Michelangelo a building site which they bought today on the corner of the Via Pinti . . . on which ground the aforesaid Consoli and Operai are obliged to build a house for the residence of Michelangelo . . . according to the design either made or to be made by Simone del Pollaiuolo). The cost of the erection of the house up to a total of six hundred florins was to be paid by the Consuls, and the balance, if any, by Michelangelo, whose rights over the house would increase in the ratio of the number of statues executed. References to the quarrying and transport

of five blocks for the Apostle statues occur in 1504, and in April 1505 four of them arrived in Florence. In March 1505 Michelangelo left Florence for Rome to begin work on the tomb of Pope Julius II, spent eight months at Carrara, and in December 1505 returned to Rome once more. On 18 December 1505 it was agreed that the contract for the twelve Apostles should be annulled. The relevant document reads as follows: 'Deliberaverunt domum olim concessam Michelangelo Bonarroti pro faciendis et fiendis apostolis, et prout in locatione constat, absolvit et finiri in modo et forma prout dictis operariis videbitur, et eam locare etc. absque eorum priudicio; et hoc adeo fecerunt postquam dicti apostoli non sculpti sunt, nec videtur vel appetat qualiter sculptantur vel sculpiri possint' (They decided that the house which had been consigned to Michelangelo Buonarotti in return for his making the Apostles should, as agreed in the contract, be completed and finished in the manner and form the said Operai think best, and that it should be leased etc. without prejudice. They have done this because the said Apostles have not been carved, nor does it seem as if they either are being, or can be, carved). In April 1506 Michelangelo fled from Rome to Florence, and in a letter from Piero Soderini of 27 November 1506 recommending Michelangelo to his brother, the Cardinal of Volterra, the Apostles are mentioned once more (Gaye, ii, pp. 91-2): 'Cardinali Valaterano. Lo portatore sarà Michelagnolo, scultore, il quale si manda per compiacere e satisfare alla Santità di nro. Signore. Noi certifichiamo la S.V. lui essere bravo giovane, et nel mestieri suo l'unico in Italia, forse etiam in universo. Non possiamo più strectamente raccomandarlo: lui è di modo che colle buone parole et colla carezza, se li fanno, farà ogni cose; bisogna monstrargli amore, et farli favore, et lui farà cose che si maraviglierà chi le vedrà. Significando alla S.V. che ha principiato una storia per il pubblico che sarà cosa admiranda, et così XII apostoli di braccia 4½ in v l'uno, che sarà opera egregia. Iterum alla S.V. quelo più possiamo lo raccomandiamo. die XXVII Novemb. 1506' (To the Cardinal of Volterra. The bearer of this letter is Michelangelo, the sculptor, who is coming to oblige and satisfy His Holiness. We assure Your Lordship that he is an excellent young man, and the best in his craft in Italy, perhaps even in the world. We can hardly recommend him more highly. He is of such a nature that, if you treat him with kind words and affection, he will do anything; you must show him love and favour, and he will make things that are wonderful to see. I inform Your Lordship that he has begun a scene for the Palazzo della Signoria which will be remarkable, and also twelve Apostles, each of them 4½ braccia high, which will be an excellent work. We again recommend him as strongly as we can to Your Lordship. 27 November 1506). Michelangelo seems to have wished to occupy the house in the Via Pinti once more in March 1508, but he was at once summoned to Rome and on 15 June of this year the lease was finally disposed of. Years later the commission is referred to by Michelangelo in a letter of January 1524 to Giovanni Francesco Fattucci in the following terms: 'Perchè quando (Papa Iulio) mandò per me a Firenze, che credo fussi el secondo anno del suo Pontificato, io avevo tolto a fare la metà della sala del Consiglio a Firenze. . . . E de' dodici Apostoli che ancora avevo

a fare per Santa Maria del Fiore n'era bozato uno, come ancora si vede; e di già avevo condotti la maggior parte di marmi. E levandomi papa Iulio di qua, non ebbi nè dell'una cosa nè dell'altra niente' (Because when Pope Julius sent to Florence for me - I think it must have been in the second year of his Pontificate - I had undertaken to do half of the Sala del Consiglio in Florence . . . And of the twelve Apostles that I still had to do for S. Maria del Fiore, one had been blocked out, as you can still see; I had already worked most of the marble. When Pope Julius took me away from there, I had nothing from either of these things). If Michelangelo's letter is accepted literally, it is necessary to assume with Wölfflin that St. Matthew was carved in 1504. It has been argued alternatively (Ollendorf, 'Der Laokoon und Michelangelos gefesselter Sklave', in *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, xxi, 1898, pp. 112-5) that (on the evidence of the statement by the Consuls of the guild) the statue had not been begun by December 1505, and must therefore, as Soderini's letter might in itself suggest, have been carved in the summer of 1506. The latter argument has been widely accepted (Thode, Tolnay, Wilde), and is almost certainly correct. A sheet in the British Museum (Wilde No. 3: 1895-9-15-496) contains on the *recto* and *verso* studies of three standing figures, which have been generally connected with the Apostles commission. If for the St. Matthew, these can hardly be contemporary with the statue as executed, and it is suggested (Wilde) that they represent an early stage in the evolution of its design and were made ca. 1503-4. The pose of the figure has been explained by reference to the discovery of the Laocoön in 1506 (Ollendorf), to the Pasquino (Grünwald), and to the project of 1505 for the Slaves on the Julius monument (Tolnay). It is claimed by Justi that the statue represents the moment of St. Matthew's call by Christ, and by Tolnay that 'Michelangelo . . . has represented a primordial suffering, the moment when the soul is seized by superhuman cosmic forces, which destroy its individuality.' It is difficult to assess the character of the complete image towards which Michelangelo was working from the figure in its present quarter completed state.

Plates 15-21, 34-5:  
THE TOMB OF POPE JULIUS II  
S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome

The story of the tomb of Pope Julius II, originally destined for St. Peter's and eventually erected in S. Pietro in Vincoli, is longer and more complex than that of any other sculptural monument. It underwent six separate structural phases, and these are best analysed individually.

*Project of 1505*

In March 1505 Michelangelo was summoned to the papal court. According to Condivi, he was left for some months without employment ('Venuto dunque a Roma, passaron molti mesi primachè Giulio II si risolvesse in che dovesse servirsene. Ultimamente gli venne in animo di fargli fare la sepoltura sua'), but it is likely that he went to Rome specifically to undertake the tomb. Vasari states that the commission for the tomb was

procured for Michelangelo by Giuliano da San Gallo ('Nel ritorno di Giuliano in Roma si praticava se'l divino Michelagnolo Buonarroti dovesse fare la sepoltura di Giulio'). The contract does not survive, but is alluded to by Michelangelo in a letter of January 1524 to Giovanni Francesco Fattucci (Milanesi, pp. 429-30: 'Ne' primi anni di papa Iulio, credo che füssi el secondo anno ch'io andai a star seco, dopo molti disegni della sua sepoltura, uno gniene piacque, sopra'l quale facemo el mercato; e tolsila a fare per dieci mila ducati, e andandovi di marmi ducati mille, me gli fece pagare, credo da' Salviati in Firenze; e mandommi pe' marmi') (In the first years of Pope Julius, I think it was the second year I went into his service, after I had made a great number of designs for his tomb, one of them pleased him, and we made an agreement. I undertook to make it for 10,000 ducats, and as 1000 ducats went on marble, he paid me that through, I think, the Salviati in Florence; and he sent me to get marble). From April to December 1505 Michelangelo was at Carrara procuring the marble. The documentation of this period is restricted to two contracts, one of 12 November 1505 (Milanesi, p. 630) providing for the shipment from Avenza to Rome of '34 carratas marmorum, inter quas sunt due figure, que sunt 15 carrate' (34 carrate of marble, including two figures which come to 15 carrate), and the other of 10 December 1505 (Milanesi, pp. 631-2) with two stonemasons at Carrara providing for the supply of 'carrate sessanta di marmi all'uso di Carrara; ciò è dumila cinque cento libre la carrata; e infra i detti marmi s'intende essere quattro pietre grosse, dua d'otto carrate l'una, e dua di cinque' (64 carrate of marble, Carrara weight, i.e. 2500 libbre the carrata; it is understood that there should be four large blocks among this marble, two of 8 carrate each, and two of 5). On 31 January 1506 Michelangelo reported to his father (Milanesi, pp. 6-7) that he was awaiting the arrival of the marble: 'De' casi mia di qua io ne farci bene, se e' mia marmi venissino: ma in questa parte mi pare avere grandissima disgrazia, che mai poi che io ci sono, sia stato dua di di buon tempo' (My affairs here would be fine, if only my marble would come; but here I think I have had very bad luck, there not having been two days of good weather since I have been here). On the arrival of the marble in Rome, difficulties appear to have arisen about payment. These are described in a letter written by Michelangelo in October 1542 to an unnamed Monsignor: 'Seguitando pure ancora circa la sepoltura di papa Iulio, dico che poi ch'ei si mutò di fantasia, cioè del farla in vita sua, come è detto, et venendo certe barche di marmi a Ripa, che più tempo inanzi avevo ordinato a Carrara, non possendo avere danari dal Papa, per essersi pentito di tale opera' (Continuing the story of Pope Julius' tomb, I say that he changed his mind about making it in his lifetime, as has been said; some boat-loads of marble which I had ordered some time before came to the Ripa, and I could get no money from the Pope, as he had repented of the project). The sum necessary to pay for the marble, one hundred and fifty or two hundred ducats, was advanced to Michelangelo through the bank of Jacopo Galli. Michelangelo's letter continues: 'et avendo fornita la casa che m'aveva data Iulio dietro a Santa Caterina, di letti e altre masserie per gli omini del quadro e per altre cose per detta sepoltura, mi parea senza denari essere molto impacciato' (and as

I had furnished the house Pope Julius had given me behind S. Caterina with beds and other goods for the masons, and for other work on the tomb, I was much troubled for lack of money). In a later passage in the same letter Michelangelo describes the circumstances in which work on the monument was broken off: 'Stringiendo il Papa a seguitare il più che potevo, mi fecie una mattina che io ero per parlargli per tal conto, mi fecie mandare fuora da un palafreniere. Come uno vescovo luchese che vidde questo atto, disse al palafreniere: "Voi non conoscete costui?" E'l palafreniere mi disse: "Perdonatemi, gentilomo, io dò commissione di fare così." Io me ne andai a casa, e scrisse questo al Papa: - "Beatissimo Padre: io sono stato stamani cacciato di Palazzo da parte della vostra Santità; onde io le fo intendere che da ora innanzi, se mi vorrà, mi ciercherà altrove che a Roma." E mandai questa lettera a messere Agostino scalco che la déssi al Papa' (The Pope made me attend on him as much as I could, and one morning when I was there to speak to him about this, he had me put out by a chamberlain. A bishop from Lucca, seeing this, said to the chamberlain: 'Do you not know who this is?' And the chamberlain said to me: 'Excuse me, sir, but I have orders to do this.' I went home and wrote to the Pope as follows: 'Blessed Father, I was thrown out of the Palace this morning on Your Holiness' orders, so I am letting you know that if you want me from now on, you will have to look elsewhere than Rome.' I sent this letter to Messer Agostino, the steward, who gave it to the Pope). According to the same letter, five horsemen, despatched by the Pope, caught up with Michelangelo at Poggibonsi, and presented him with a missive from the Pope ordering him to return immediately to Rome. Rejecting this, he continued his flight to Florence. In Florence the Signoria received three briefs from the Pope regarding the sculptor's return, in the third of which, on 8 July 1506, he was assured that on his return he would not be molested in any way. The Signoria encouraged Michelangelo's return, and at the end of November, bearing a letter of recommendation to the Cardinal of Volterra from Piero Soderini, he left for Bologna to meet the Pope. Thereafter further work on the tomb was abandoned in favour first of a bronze statue of the Pope executed at Bologna (destroyed) and second of the painting of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, which is mentioned for the first time on 10 May 1506 and was allocated to Michelangelo in March or April 1508. Work on the blocking out of marbles at Carrara seems, however, to have continued, and in June 1508 the stonemason Matteo di Cucarello da Carrara embarked upon 'la figura de la Santitade del Nostro Signore'. Michelangelo, in a letter of 2 May 1506 to Giuliano da San Gallo, hints that, in addition to the reasons given above, there was another reason for his flight from Rome: 'Ma questo solo non fu cagione interamente della mia partita; ma fu pure altra cosa, la quale non voglio scrivere; basta ch'ella mi fe' pensare s'i stavo a Roma, che fussi fatta prima la sepoltura mia, che quella del Papa. E questa fu cagione della mia partita subita. Ora voi mi scrivete da parte del Papa; e così al Papa legierete questa: e intenda la Sua Santità come io sono disposto, più che io fussi mai, a seguire l'opera; e se quella vole fare la sepoltura a ogni modo, no'gli debbe dare noia dov'io me la facci, purchè in capo de' cinque anni che noi siano d'accordo, la sia murata in Santo Pietro, dove a

quella piacerà, e sia cosa bella, come io dò promesso: che son certe, se si fa, non à la par cosa tutto el mondo' (But this was not the only reason for my departure; there was something else, which I do not want to write about. Enough that it made me think that, if I stayed in Rome, my tomb would be made before the Pope's. This was the reason for my sudden departure. Now you are writing to me on behalf of the Pope, and will read him this letter: let His Holiness understand that I am more than ever disposed to continue the work. If he really wishes to have the tomb built, there is no need for him to make trouble about where I do it, provided that it is, within the five years we agreed on, erected in St. Peter's in whatever position he wants, and that it is a beautiful work, as I have promised. I am sure that, if it is carried out, there will be nothing equal to it in the world). This letter contains a suggestion that the sculptures for the tomb should be carved in Florence. Tolnay interprets the 'cagione' referred to in this letter as the acceptance of Bramante's plan for St. Peter's. This explanation is conjectural, and is not consistent with the terms employed in the letter. Condivi's account of the 1505 project attributes the change in the Pope's plan to Bramante, who persuaded him that it was unlucky to order a tomb in his own lifetime, and it is likely that the reference is to some real or imaginary plot on Bramante's side. The primary source for the reconstruction of the 1505 project is an account given by Condivi: 'E per darne qualche saggio, brevemente dico che questa sepoltura doveva aver quattro facce: due di braccia diciotto, che servivan per fianchi, e due di dodici per teste; talchè veniva ad essere un quadro e mezzo. Intorno intorno di fuore erano nicchie, dove entravano statue, e tra nicchia e nicchia termini, ai quali, sopra certi dadi, che movendosi da terra sporgevano in fuori, erano altre statue legate come prigioni, le quali rappresentavano l'Arti Liberali, similmente Pittura, Scultura e Architettura, ognuna colle sue note; sicchè facilmente potesse esser conosciuta per quel che era, denotando per queste, insieme con papa Giulio, essere prigioni della Morte tutte le Virtù, come quelle che non fossero mai per trovare da chi cotanto fossero favorite e nutritre quanto da lui. Sopra queste correva una cornice, che intorno legava tutta l'opera; nel cui piano eran quattro grandi statue, una delle quali, cioè il Moisè, si vede in San Pietro ad Vincula, e di questa si parlerà al suo luogo. Così ascendendo l'opera, si finiva in un piano, sopra il quale erano due Agnoli, che sostenevano un'arca; uno d'essi faceva sembiante di ridere, come quello che si rallegrasse che l'anima del papa fosse tra gli beati spiriti ricevuta; l'altro di piangere, come se si dolesse che'l mondo fosse d'un tal uomo spogliato. Per una delle teste, cioè per quella che era dalla banda di sopra, s'entrava, dentro alla sepoltura in una stanzetta a guisa d'un tempietto, in mezzo della quale era un cassone di marmo, dove si doveva seppellire il corpo del papa; ogni cosa lavorata con maraviglioso artificio. Brevemente, in tutta l'opera andavano sopra quaranta statue, senza le storie di mezzo rilievo fatte di bronzo, tutte a proposito di tal caso, e dove si potevan vedere i fatti di tanto pontefice' (To give some description of this tomb, I will briefly say that it was to have four faces: two of 18 braccia, serving as the sides, and two of 12 braccia as the ends. It consisted therefore of a square and a half. Around the outside were niches in which statues were to go, and between

the niches, terms; and to these, above plinths projecting as they rose from the ground, other statues were bound like captives. These represented the Liberal Arts, such as Painting, Sculpture and Architecture, each with its attributes for easy recognition of what it was. He meant by these that all the arts had, with Pope Julius, become prisoners of Death, since they would never find anyone by whom they would be so favoured and nourished as they had been by him. Above these ran a cornice, binding the whole work round, and on the level of this were four large statues; one of them, the Moses, can be seen in S. Pietro in Vincoli and I will speak of it in its place. Ascending in this way, the work ended in another storey, above which were two angels holding up a bier. One of these seemed to be laughing, as if rejoicing that the soul of the Pope should be among the blessed spirits; the other weeping, as if grieving that the world should be deprived of such a man. Through one of the ends, the one on the upper side, one entered a chamber inside the tomb, in the form of a small temple; in the middle of this was a marble tomb-chest in which the Pope's body was to be placed, and everything was worked with marvellous skill. Briefly, there were over forty statues in the whole work, not counting the scenes in relief, cast in bronze; all of these were connected with the purpose of the tomb and were to show the deeds of this great Pope).

Vasari, whose account of 1550 is corrected in this passage, incorporated the dimensions and certain facts given by Condivi in his edition of 1568 with further elaboration. This account, which is less authoritative than Condivi's and does not distinguish clearly between the projects of 1505 and 1513, reads as follows: 'Aveva un ordine di nicchie di fuori a torno a torno, le quali erano tramezzate da termini vestiti dal mezzo in su, che con la testa tenevano la prima cornice, e ciascuno termine con strana e bizzarra attitudine ha legato un prigione ignudo, il qual posava coi piedi in un risalto d'un basamento. Questi prigionieri erano tutte le provincie soggiogate da questo pontefice, e fatte obbediente alla Chiesa Apostolica; ed altre statue diverse, pur legate, erano tutte le virtù ed arte ingegnose, che mostravano esser sottoposte alla morte, non meno che si fussi quel pontefice che sì onoratamente le adoperava. Su'anti della prima cornice andava quattro figure grandi, la Vita attiva e la contemplativa, e San Paulo e Moisè. Ascendeva l'opera sopra la cornice in gradi diminuendo con un fregio di storie di bronzo, e con altre figure e putti e ornamenti a torno; e sopra era per fine due figure, che una era il Cielo, che ridendo sosteneva in sulle spalla una barba insieme col Cibele dea della terra, pareva che si dolessi, che ella rimanesse al mondo priva d'ogni virtù per la morte di questo uomo; ed il Cielo pareva che ridessi che l'anima sua era passata alla gloria celeste. Era accomodato che s'entrava ed usciva per le teste della quadratura dell'opera nel mezzo delle nicchie; e drento era, caminando a uso di tempio, in forma ovale; nel quale aveva nel mezzo la cassa dove aveva a porsi il corpo morto di quel papa: e finalmente vi andava in tutta quest'opera quaranta statue di marmo, senza l'altre storie, putti ed ornamenti, e tutte intagliate le cornici e gli altri membri dell'opera d'architettura' (It had a row of niches going right round the outside, and these were separated by terms clothed from the middle upwards; these supported the first cornice with their

heads, and each term had bound to it, in a strange and bizarre attitude, a nude captive standing on a projection of the base. These captives were all provinces subjugated by this Pope, and made obedient to the Apostolic Church. And there were various other statues, also bound, of all the liberal arts and sciences, which were shown to be subject to death no less than the Pope, who had used them with such honour. On the corners of the first cornice four large figures were to go, the Active and the Contemplative Lives, St. Paul and Moses. The work went on upwards above the cornice in gradually diminishing steps, with a frieze of scenes in bronze, and with other figures, putti and ornaments all round it. And as a top above this were two figures, one of which was Heaven, smiling and supporting a bier on her shoulder, together with Cybele, Goddess of the Earth, who seemed to be grieving that she should be left in a world robbed of all virtue by the death of this man; and the Heaven seemed to be smiling because his soul had passed to heavenly glory. It was so arranged that one entered and came out through the ends of the square structure, between the niches; and the interior was in the shape of an oval, curving like a temple. In the middle of it was the tomb-chest in which the Pope's dead body was to be put. Lastly, there were to be forty marble statues in the whole of this work, not counting the other scenes, putti and ornaments, the carved cornices and the other architectural elements in the work).

The dimensions recorded by Condivi give a width of 7.2 m. across the front and back, and 10.8 m. along the sides. On the narrower faces at front and back the surface seems to have been divided by four pilasters with herms, before each of which, on a protruding pedestal, stood a prisoner or slave. Two alternative hypotheses have been advanced regarding the longer faces at the sides, which were either divided in two bays separated by a historical relief (Schmarsow, Bürger, Thode) or into three bays in the proportion of five to three (Panofsky). Over and above the written evidence, there exist a number of drawings which throw an oblique light on the first version of the tomb. These are (i) a much damaged drawing in Berlin, of which the upper part is associative with the project of 1513 but the lower part is conjecturally related to the project of 1505, (ii) a copy of this drawing by Jacopo Rocchetti, also in Berlin, and (iii) a drawing in the Uffizi (No. 1740) ascribed to Aristotile da San Gallo, which appears also to show the lower register of the project of 1505. The evidence for the upper register in the 1505 project is less firm. It has been argued (Panofsky) that the figure of the Pope was represented seated, and that the term 'bara' is synonymous with 'sella gestatoria'. Conversely it has been inferred (Tolnay) that the effigy was a recumbent frontal figure. Support for the first view is supplied by a seated figure of St. Gregory the Great by Niccolò Cordieri in S. Gregorio al Celio which is carved from the same block as the papal statue listed in the inventory of the studio of Michelangelo (for this see Hess, 'Michelangelo and Cordier', in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxxii, 1943, pp. 55-65). Support for the second view is afforded by a drawing by Zanobi Lastricati in the Ambrosiana, Milan, of the catafalque of Michelangelo, with the inscription: 'catafalco quadrato in isola, alla forma del Settizonio di Severo presso alle Antoniane e come da Michel Angelo era stato prima

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 disegnato il Sepolcro di Giulio II in San Piero in Vincoli benché non füssi poi così eseguito . . . haveva fatto il Pa(pa) in iscorcio' (freestanding and rectangular catafalque, in the shape of that of Septimius Severus near the Antoniane, and as the tomb of Julius II in S. Pietro in Vincoli was first designed by Michelangelo, though it was not afterwards executed in this manner . . . he had represented the Pope in a foreshortened view). It has been suggested (Panofsky) with some plausibility that the front of the 1505 project was inspired by a sarcophagus from the Villa Montalto-Negrone-Massimi now in the Vatican.

Not only was Giuliano da San Gallo instrumental in securing Michelangelo the commission for the tomb, but he was also responsible for encouraging the Pope to erect a special chapel in which it could be housed. This in turn led to the adoption of Bramante's scheme for the reconstruction of the entire church. The first evidence of a centralised plan for the new St. Peter's occurs on 10 November 1505, and the first stone was laid on 18 April 1506. Though a connection must be postulated between the scheme for the tomb and the rebuilding of the church, it is hazardous to presume (Tolnay) that 'the new St. Peter's was conceived on a gigantic scale as a funerary chapel to house the tomb of Julius II as its centre', and that the tomb was therefore planned in 1505 as a 'double commemorative monument in honor of both the Prince of the Apostles and of his spiritual descendant', a 'mausoleum of the eternal Pope'. Condivi's description of the interior sarcophagus ('un cassone di marmo, dove si doveva seppellire il corpo del papa') is inconsistent with the view that this was designed to commemorate St. Peter. Programmatically there is no general agreement on the meaning of the first version of the tomb, though there is a tendency throughout the Michelangelo literature to dismiss the relatively simple explanations of Condivi in favour of the more elaborate iconographical scheme postulated by Vasari or of conjectural explanations of a still more complex character. Thus the 'wahrhaft titanische Idee' (Gregorovius) of the monument is explained by Tolnay as an 'abbreviated image of the Universe' and a 'grandiose pyramid of Catharsis conceived according to the idea of the *Scala Platonica*'. The most ambitious interpretation is that of Tolnay, according to whom the lower section represented the triumph of the Apostolic Church over paganism, the seated figures in the central zone symbolised the instauration and diffusion of the true faith, and the summit showed the Empyrean with an apotheosis of the Church personified by the Apostle-Pope. Justi explains the herms as a 'Todessinnbild'.

### Project of 1513

The second phase in the evolution of the monument is described by Condivi in the following terms: 'Perciocchè, venendo a morte (papa Iulio), ordinò che gli fosse fatta finir quella sepoltura, che già aveva principiata, dando la cura al Cardinale Santi Quattro vecchio e al cardinale Aginense suo nipote. I quali però gli fecer fare nuovo disegno, parendo loro il primo impresa troppo grande. Così entrò Michelagnolo un'altra volta nella tragedia della sepoltura, la quale non più felicemente gli successo di quel di prima; anzi molto peggio, arrecandogli infiniti impacci, dispiaceri e travagli, e, quel ch'è peggio, per la

malizia di certi uomini, infamia; della quale appena dopo molti anni s'è purgato. Ricominciò dunque Michelagnolo di nuovo a far lavorare, condotti da Firenze molti maestri, e Bernardo Bini, ch'era Depositario, dava danari, secondo che bisognava. Manon molto andò innanzi, che fu con suo gran dispiacere impedito, perciocchè a Papa Leone, il qual successe a Giulio, venne voglia d'ornare la facciata di San Lorenzo di Firenze con opera e lavori di marmo' (Wherefore being on the point of death, Pope Julius ordered that he should be commissioned to finish the tomb he had begun, putting the old Cardinal Santiquattro and his nephew Cardinal Aginensis in charge of it. They therefore had a new design made by him, as they considered the first undertaking too large. So Michelangelo entered a second time into the tragedy of the tomb, and he did not succeed any more easily than the first time; much worse, indeed, for it brought him infinite trouble, unpleasantry, difficulty and, what is worse, disgrace on account of the malice of certain men. And after many years he has hardly cleared himself of it. Michelangelo, therefore, began work again, having brought many masters from Florence; and Bernardo Bini, the depositary, gave him money as he needed it. But he had not got far with it before he was hindered, to his great distress; for Pope Leo, who succeeded Julius, conceived a desire to decorate the front of S. Lorenzo in Florence with a marble façade and sculpture). The account given of this phase in the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite* is incorrect in a number of material respects. The death of Julius II occurred on 21 February 1513, and following the election of his successor, Leo X, a new contract was drawn up on 6 May 1513 by Julius II's executors, Cardinal Aginensis and Lorenzo Pucci, Cardinal of Santi Quattro. This stipulated that Michelangelo should undertake no other work than that on the tomb, that the tomb should be completed in seven years, and that Michelangelo should receive for it 16,500 ducats (of which 3,500 had already been paid), at the rate of 200 ducats a month for two years and 136 ducats a month thereafter until the complete sum was paid off. An annexe (Milanesi, pp. 636-7) gives an account of the new form of the tomb: 'Sia noto a qualunque persona com'io Michelagniolo, scultore fiorentino, tolgo a fare la sepoltura di papa Iulio di marmo da el cardinale d'Aginensis e dal Dataro, e' quali sono restati dopo la morte sua seguitori di tale opera, per sedici migliaia di ducati d'oro di Camera e cinquecento pur simili; e la composizione della detta sepoltura à essere in questa forma ciò è:

Un quadro che si vede da tre facce, e la quarta faccia s'apicca al muro e non si può vedere. La faccia dinanzi: cioè la testa di questo quadro à essere per larghezza palmi venti e alto quattordici, e l'altre due faccie che vanno verso el muro dove s'apicca detto quadro, anno a essere palmi trenta cinque lunge e alte pur quattordici e in ognuna di queste tre faccie va dua tabernacoli, e' quali posano in sur uno imbasamento che ricignie attorno el detto quadro e con loro adornamenti di pilastri, d'architrave, fregio e cornicione, come s'è visto per un modello piccolo di legno. In ognuno de' detti sei tabernacoli va dua figure magiore circa un palmo del naturale che sono dodici figure, e innanzi a ogni pilastro di quegli che mettono in mezo e' tabernacoli, va una figura di simile grandezza: che sono dodici pilastri; vengono a essere dodici figure; e in sul piano di sopra

detto quadro viene un cassone con quattro piedi, come si vede pel modello, in sul quale à a essere il detto papa Iulio, et a capo à a essere i' mezo di due figure ch'el tengono sospeso ed a piè i' mezo di du' altre; che vengono a essere cinque figure in sul cassone tutte e cinque maggiore ch'el naturale, quasi per due volte el naturale. Intorno al detto cassone viene sei dadi, in su quali viene sei figure di simile grandeza, tutte e sei a sedere: poi in su questo medesimo piano dove sono queste sei figure, sopra quella faccia de la sepultura che s'apicca al muro, nascie una capelletta, la quale va alta circa trenta cinque palmi, nella quale va cinque figure maggiore che tutte l'altre, per essere più lontane dall'ochio. Ancora ci va tre storie o di marmo o di bronzo, come piacerà a' sopra detti seguitori, in ciascuna faccia de la detta sepultura fra l'un tabernacolo e l'altro, come nel modello si vede. E la detta sepultura m'obrigo a'dar finita tutta a mie spese col sopradetto pagamento, faccendomelo in quel modo che pel contratto aparirà, in sette anni; e mancando finito i sette anni qualche parte della detta sepultura che non sia finita, mi debba esser dato da' sopra detti seguitori tanto tempo quanto sia possibile a fare quello che restassi, non possendo fare altra cosa' (Let it be known to all that I, Michelangelo, sculptor of Florence, undertake the execution of a marble tomb for Pope Julius from the Cardinal Aginensis and the Datary, who have become since his death the executors to complete this work, for 16,500 gold Camera ducats. The composition of the tomb shall be in the following form:

A rectangle, visible from three sides, with the fourth side attached to the wall and not visible. The front face – that is, the head of the rectangle – shall be 20 palmi broad and 14 high; and the other two sides running back to the wall shall be 35 palmi long and 14 high. Each of these three faces shall contain two tabernacles, resting on a base carried round the rectangle, and shall be decorated with pilasters, architrave, frieze and cornice, as shown in the small wooden model. In each of these six tabernacles there shall be two figures, about one palmo larger than life-size, making twelve in all; and in front of each of the pilasters flanking the tabernacles there shall be one figure of the same size. This makes twelve pilasters and twelve figures in all. On the platform above the rectangle there shall be a coffer with four feet, as in the model, upon which the figure of Pope Julius shall be put, supported between two angels at his head and two more at his feet: this makes five figures on the coffer, all of them over life-size, almost twice the natural size. Round the coffer there will be six plinths, and on these will go six figures of the same size, all of them in a sitting position. Further, on the same level as these six figures, above the face of the tomb attached to the wall, there shall open a small chapel, about 35 palmi high, containing five figures larger than all the others, because they are further from the eye. There shall also be three histories, either of bronze or of marble as may please the executors, on each face of the tomb, between one tabernacle and the next, as in the model. I bind myself to deliver the tomb finished at my expense for the above-mentioned sum, to be paid to me, according to the contract, within seven years. If some part of the tomb has not been finished at the end of the seven years, the executors are to give me as much time as I need to do what remains, if no other arrangement is possible).

So far as can be judged from this contract, the tomb of 1513 was a reduction of the project of 1505 in so far as the back rested against the wall and the forty-seven figures envisaged in 1505 were reduced to forty (Panofsky). No mention is made in the new contract of the central burial chamber, but the four seated figures in the second register appear to have been increased to six and the figures round the Pope from two to four, and the upper register is transformed by the addition of a 'cappelletta' 7.8 m. high containing a Virgin and Child. It is probable (Panofsky) that the new scheme was related to, but not identical with, that shown in the drawing for the tomb in Berlin. In letters of January 1524 to Giovanni Francesco Fattucci and of October 1542 to an unnamed Monsignor, Michelangelo refers to the new project as an enlargement of the old. The tone of these letters is self-justificatory, and neither can be accepted at its face value. The first reads as follows (Milanesi, p. 428): 'Dipoi venne la morte di papa Iulio: e a tempo nel principio di Leone, Aginensis volendo accrescere la sua sepultura, cioè far maggiore opera che il disegno ch'io avevo fatto prima, si fece uno contratto. E non volendo io che e'vi mettessino a conto della sepultura i detti tre mila ducati ch'io avevo ricevuti, mostrando ch'io avevo avere molto più; Aginensis mi disse, che io ero un ciurmadore' (Then Pope Julius died, and at the beginning of Leo's pontificate Aginensis wanted to enlarge the tomb, to make it a greater work than the plan I had made before, and a contract was drawn up. And when I did not want the 3000 ducats I had received put down as settlement for the tomb, and showed I was owed much more, Aginensis told me I was a swindler).

The second runs (Milanesi, pp. 491-2): 'Poi dopo detta morte di Iulio, Aginensis volse seguitare detta sepultura, ma maggior cosa; ond'io condussi e' marmi al Macello de' Corvi, et feci lavorare quella parte che è murata a Santo Pietro in Vincola, et feci le figure che ò in casa. In questo tempo papa Leone non volendo che io facessi detta sepultura, finse di volere fare in Firenze la facciata di San Lorenzo et chiesemi a Aginensis; onde e' mi dette a forza licenzia, con questo, che a Firenze io facessi detta sepultura di papa Iulio. Poi che io fui a Firenze per detta facciata di San Lorenzo, non vi avendo marmi per la sepultura di Iulio, ritornai a Carrara et stettivi tredici mesi, et condussi per detta sepultura tutti e marmi in Firenze, et mura' vi una stanza per farla, et cominciai a lavorare. In questo tempo Aginensis mandò messer Francesco Palavisi, che è oggi il vescovo d'Aleria, a sollecitarmi, et vidde la stanza, et tutti i detti marmi e figure bozzate per detta sepultura, che ancora oggi vi sono. Veggendo questo, cioè ch'ilavoravo per detta sepultura, Medici che stava a Firenze, che fu poi papa Clemente, non mi lasciò seguitare' (After the death of Julius, Aginensis wanted to carry on the tomb, but as a larger affair. So I brought the marble to the Macello de' Corbi, had the part that has been built in S. Pietro in Vincoli worked, and made the figure I have in my house. At this time Pope Leo, as he did not want me to make the tomb, pretended he wanted to build the façade of S. Lorenzo in Florence, and begged me of Aginensis; the latter was compelled to give me leave, on condition that I went on with Pope Julius' tomb in Florence. While I was in Florence for the façade of S. Lorenzo, I did not have enough marble there for Julius' tomb,

so I returned to Carrara and stayed there thirteen months, and brought all the marble for the tomb to Florence; I built a room there to make it in and began work. At this time Aginensis sent Messer Francesco Pallavicini, now Bishop of Aleria, to urge me on; and he saw the room and all the marble and blocked out figures for the tomb, and these are still there. The Medici who was then in Florence, later Pope Clement, saw that I was working on the tomb and did not let me continue with it). Michelangelo's statement that he was compelled to abandon work on the tomb in order to undertake the façade of San Lorenzo is untrue; a letter of Domenico Buoninsegni to Baccio d'Agnolo of 7 October 1516, seems to indicate that prior to this time he had taken the initiative in expressing his willingness to undertake the façade. Between 1513 and 1516, however, there is evidence of continuous work on the tomb sculptures. In a letter to his brother Buonarroto of 16 June 1515 (Milanesi, p. 115) Michelangelo writes: '... qua mi bisognia fare sforzo grande questa state di finire presto questo lavoro, perchè stimo poi avere a essere a servizi del Papa. E per questo o comperato forse venti migliaia di rame per gittar certe figure' (... I shall have to make a great effort this summer to finish this work quickly, because I think I shall be in the Pope's service soon afterwards. I have bought about 20,000 pounds of copper for this, to cast some figures). A second letter (Milanesi, p. 121) reads: 'Io poi che tornai di costà non o mai lavorato: solo o atteso a far modegli e a mettere a ordine e'lavoro, i'modo che io possa fare uno sforzo grande e finirlo in due o tre anni per forza d'uomini' (Since I returned from Florence I have done no work; I have only managed to prepare models and arrange for the work, so that I can make a great effort to finish it in two or three years). On 9 July 1513 Michelangelo signed a contract (Milanesi, p. 640) with Antonio da Pontassieve for 'la faccia che viene dinanzi, cioè una facciata larga palmi trenta circa, diciassette alta, secondo che sta il disegno' (the front face, namely a façade about 30 palmi wide and 17 high, as it is in the design), and in a letter of May 1518 to the Capitano di Cortona (Milanesi, p. 391) he writes, with reference to the first year of the pontificate of Leo X: 'trovommi che io lavoravo in sur una figura di marmo, ritta, alta quattro braccia, che à le mani drieto' (I was working on an upright marble figure, 4 braccia high, with its hands behind it). The pieces of the tomb executed at this time were (A) the Rebellious Slave (Louvre), to which this passage refers, (B) the Dying Slave, and (C) the Moses.

#### *Project of 1516*

The contract for the façade of S. Lorenzo was preceded by a new contract for the tomb. This was signed on 8 July 1516, and involved a further reduction in the size of the tomb, an extension of the period of completion to nine years, and permission to Michelangelo to work on the sculptures where he chose. The sculptor bound himself to undertake no other major works than the façade and the tomb. The contract (Milanesi, pp. 644-51) includes a description of the new form of the tomb: 'El modello è largo ne la faya dinanzi brachia undeci fiorentine vel circa; ne la quale largueza si move in sul piano de la terra uno inbasamento con quattro zocholi o vero quattro dadi colla loro cimasa ch ricignee per tutto; en su quali vano quattro figure tonde di marmo

tre bracia et mezo l'una et drieto alle dictae figure in su uogni dado viene il suo pilastro, su che vano alti insino alla prima cornice; la quale va alta dal piano dove possa l'imbasamento, in su bracia sei, et dua pilastri co' lor socoli da uno de' lati metto in mezo uno tabernaculo, el quale è alto al vano bracia quatre et mezo: et similmente da l'altre bande metto in mezo uno altro tabernaculo simile che vengono ad essere dua tabernaculi ne la facia dinanzi da la prima cornice in giù, ne quali in ogni uno viene una figura simile a le supraditte. Di poi fra l'uno tabernaculo e l'altro resta uno vano di bracia duo et mezo alto per infino alla prima cornice, nel quale va una historia di bronzo. Et la dicta opera va murata tanto discosto al muro, quanto la largeza d'uno de' tabernaculi, che sono ne la facia dinanzi: et nelle rivolte de la dicta facia che vano al muro, coè nelle teste, vano duo tabernaculi simili a quelli dinanzi co' loro zocoli et colle lor figure di simile grandessa che vengono ad essere figure dondeci et una storia, come è decto dalla prima cornice in su sopra e' pilastri che mettono in mezo el tabernaculo di sucto, vieni altri dadi co' loro adornamento, suvi meze colonne che vano insino a l'ultima cornice, coè vano alte bracia octo dalla prima a la seconda cornice, ch' è suo finimento; et da una de le bande in mezo de le duo colonne, viene uno certo vano, nel quale va una figura a sedere, alta asedere braccia tre et mezo fiorentine: el simile viene fra l'altre due colonne da l'altra banda. Et fra il capo de le dictae figure e l'ultima cornicie, resta uno vano di circa a tre braccia simile per ogni verso, nel quale va una storia per vano, di bronzo: che vengono ad essere tre storie ne la facia dinante: et fra l'una figura a sedere et l'altra dinante, resta uno vano che viene sopra il vano de la storia del mezo di sucto, nel quale viene una certa tribuneta, ne la quale viene la figura del morto, cioè di papa Iulio, con dua altre figure che la mettono in mezo. Et una Nostra Dona pure di marmo alta bracia quattro simili, et supra e' tabernaculi de le teste o vero delle rivolte de la parte di supra, ne le quali in ogni uno de le due viene una figura a sedere in mezo de dua meze colonne con una storia di supra a quelle dinanti' (The front face of the design is about 11 Florentine braccia wide. Within this breadth there is a base at ground level with four plinths or cubes and their moulding binding it right round. On these there are four marble figures in the round, each of them  $3\frac{1}{2}$  braccia high. On each plinth or cube, behind these figures, there is a pilaster going up as high as the first cornice, which is 6 braccia above the level of the base. On one side, two pilasters and their plinths flank a tabernacle, its opening  $4\frac{1}{2}$  braccia high; and similarly on the other side the two other pilasters flank a similar tabernacle. This makes two tabernacles in the front face beneath the first cornice, and a figure similar to those mentioned above goes in each of them. Between the two tabernacles is an opening of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  braccia and as high as the first cornice, and in this there is a bronze history. The work is built to project from the wall as much as the breadth of one of the tabernacles in the front face; and in the returns going to the wall from the front face, that is to say in the ends, there are two tabernacles like those in front, with plinths and figures of the same size. This makes twelve figures and one history below the first cornice. Above the first cornice, and over the pilasters flanking the tabernacles beneath, there are more decorated

bases; and on these are half-columns going up as far as the last cornice, that is to say going up 8 braccia from the first to the second cornice, where they finish. On one side, between the two columns, there is an opening in which a sitting figure goes, 3½ Florentine braccia high as it sits; and the same goes between the other two columns on the other side. Between the top of these figures and the highest cornice there is an opening of about 3 braccia each way, and in this goes a bronze history in relief. This makes three histories on the front face. Between the one sitting figure and the other comes an opening over the space with the history in relief beneath, and in this there is a small tribune in which the figure of the deceased, that is of Pope Julius, goes, together with two more figures on each side of him; and above these there is a marble Madonna, 4 braccia high. Over the tabernacles on the ends, or returns, of the lower part, come the returns of the upper part; in each of these goes a sitting figure between two columns, with a history above, like those on the front). By this contract the tomb was reduced to a wall monument proper, with returns at the sides equal in depth to the unit of the tabernacle and hermae pilasters on the front. A bronze relief was planned for the centre of the front. The upper half was reduced in height, and widened to extend over the whole width of the lower register, with half columns corresponding to the pilasters beneath. There were thus twelve figures in all in the lower register. The seated figures in the upper register were reduced to two, with, between them, a figure of the Pope supported by two other figures, and a Virgin and Child behind. The architrave above the hermae pilasters was suppressed. In September 1516 Michelangelo went to Carrara to choose new blocks for the statues. A letter of 9 August from his representative in Rome, Leonardo Sellaio, urged him to complete the work, and a year later (December 1517) Sellaio reported that he had informed Cardinal Aginensis that the monument would be completed in two years. In February 1518 blocks for the statue were sent to Florence, and on 5 February Sellaio wrote to Michelangelo regarding the figures which remained in his studio in Rome ('Perche non mi pare stia a proposito, dua tenghino le chiave di chasa, per la gelosia di quelle fighure, parendovi, daro loro tutte le chiave, coe di sotto, sichche rispondetemi la volonta vostra'). On 23 October 1518 Cardinal Aginensis reminded Michelangelo that he was expecting to see two figures by a stipulated date ('Et cum desiderio aspectamo vedere le doe figure al tempo che ne haveti promesse'), and a week later (31 October 1518) Sellaio impressed on Michelangelo the importance of completing at least one figure on time ('E sopra a tutto la fighura sia fornita al tempo promesso'). In December Cardinal Aginensis was informed by Jacopo Sansovino that Michelangelo was not working; this is reported in a letter of 18 December 1518 from Sellaio to Michelangelo: 'El chardinale . . . a mandato per me e dettoni, chome uno gran maestro l'è stato a vicitare e dettigli, chome voj non lavorate e mai finirete el suo lavoro, e che io gl' o dette le bugia' (The Cardinal . . . sent for me, and told me a great master (Sansovino) had been to visit him and told him you are not working and will never finish his work, and that I have told him lies). Michelangelo meanwhile had purchased a lot in the Via Mozza for the construction of a studio, and by 21 December 1518 had

ordered 'una bella stanza, dov'io potrò rizare venti figure per volta' (a fine room, in which I shall be able to have twenty figures up at a time). In the same letter occurs the passage: 'Io muoio di dolore, e parmi essere diventato uno ciurmatore contro a mia voglia' (I am dying of grief, and feel I have become a swindler against my will). On 13 February 1519 Sellaio stated that Cardinal Aginensis had been informed by Jacopo Salviati 'voi questa state farete per ogni modo 4 fighure; che ne sta tutto alegro' (you will make at any rate 4 figures this summer; he is very glad about that). The four figures in question are identified by Justi and Kriegbaum with the unfinished Slaves now in the Accademia. On 31 May 1519 Pallavicini, representing Aginensis, informed the Cardinal that he had visited Michelangelo's studio and had seen 'figure bozzate e tutti marmi'. During the whole of this period Michelangelo had been engaged in work on the S. Lorenzo façade, the contract for which was cancelled on 10 March 1520. This phase in the history of the tomb terminates with the death of Cardinal Aginensis on 27 September 1520, and with the initiation, in November 1520, of plans for the Medici tombs.

#### Project of 1525-26

With the death of Leo X on 6 December 1521 there opens a new period in the story of the monument. Francesco Maria della Rovere, who had been deprived of the Duchy of Urbino by Leo X, was restored by his successor Adrian VI, who insisted that Michelangelo should complete his obligations. A letter of 1523 from Michelangelo to Giovanni Francesco Fattucci (Milanesi, pp. 421-2) reporting an interview with Cardinal Giulio de' Medici reads: 'Io vi andai subito, stimando volessi parlare delle sepulture; lui mi disse: "Noi vorremo pure che in queste sepulture fussi qualcosa di buono, cioè qualcosa di tuo mano" . . . Ora voi sapete come a Roma el Papa è stato avisato di questa sepultura di Iulio, e come gli è stato fatto un moto proprio per farlo segnare e procedermi contro e domandarmi quello che io d' avuto sopra detta opera, e danni e interessi: e sapete come el Papa disse, che questo si facci, se Michelagniolo non vuole fare la sepultura. Adunque bisogna ch'io la facci, se non voglio capitare male, come vedete che è ordinato' (I went there at once, thinking he wanted to speak of the tombs. He said: 'We desire that there should be some good things in these tombs, that is to say something from your own hand.' As you know, the Pope in Rome has been told of this tomb of Julius, and a motu proprio has been made out for his signature, authorising proceedings against me, and demanding from me what I have had for this work, and damages and interest also. And you know the Pope said that this would be done if Michelangelo was unwilling to make the tomb. So I have to make it if I do not want to end up in trouble, as you see the order has been made out). Pope Adrian VI died in the autumn of 1523, and was succeeded by Pope Clement VII. In December 1523 the Della Rovere heirs insisted once more on the completion of the tomb, and on 22 December Fattucci requested Michelangelo for a detailed statement on the sums that had been paid to him and the work that had been done. Two self-justificatory letters were drafted by the sculptor in January 1524. According to these, a further 8000 ducats would

be required to complete the tomb. At this point the second of Julius II's executors, Cardinal Santuquattro, became the protagonist in the negotiations, and the requirements of the executors were modified. Fattucci reported to Michelangelo on 22 March 1524 that 'Santuquattro vole intendere da voi, se vi piace, o che e' u' aspettino tanto che voi abbiate servito N.S., o che voi vi contentiate, che la facia il Sansovino o altri. Et conterannosi tutti vostri marmi et figure nove milia cinque cento ducati, con questo che e' vorebe, che voi facessi ancora di vostra mano la Nostra Donna che vi va' (Santuquattro wants to hear from you whether you want them to wait until you have finished work for His Lordship, or whether you will be willing for Sansovino and others to do it. They would value all your marbles and figures at 9500 ducats, on condition that you still make with your own hand the Madonna to go there). Michelangelo was apparently unresponsive to the generous terms proposed by Santuquattro, and on 4 September 1525 wrote to Fattucci that he preferred restitution to the heirs to completing the tomb. In the same letter, however, he mentioned the possibility of a further drastic reduction in the size of the monument: 'Del fare detta sepoltura di Iulio al muro, come quelle di Pio mi piace, e è cosa più breve che in nessun altro modo' (As to making the tomb of Julius against the wall, like that of Pius, I am in favour; and it is quicker to carry out than in any other way). A reply of 14 October 1525 from Fattucci seems for the first time to envisage large scale studio participation: 'Solo basta che e' si dica, che voi vi atendiate et vegiatela qualche volta; et se non vorrete fare ne il papa (Iulio) ne la Nostra Donna, sarà rimessa in voi' (It is enough for him to be told that you would watch over and supervise it sometimes; and if you do not want to do the effigy of the Pope or the Madonna, that is left to you). A year later, on 16 October 1526, a drawing of the reduced tomb was received by Fattucci. This was rejected by the executors, and in a letter of 1 November 1526 Michelangelo comments: 'questa è la mala disposizione che anno e' parenti di Iulio verso di me: e non senza ragione' (this is the ill-will Julius' relatives feel towards me; and not without reason). Further discussion was interrupted in 1527 by the Sack of Rome. Two drawings in the British Museum and the Casa Buonarroti are tentatively connected by Tolnay with this project; they show a wall tomb façade without returns, and are connected with the scheme subsequently adopted for Bandinelli's tombs of Leo X and Clement VII in S. Maria sopra Minerva.

#### *Project of 1532*

At this point there is a gap in the history of the monument until 1531, when, on 29 April, Sebastiano del Piombo in Rome reported to Michelangelo a conversation with the painter Genga, according to whom Francesco Maria della Rovere was reluctant to supply further funds for the tomb. The Pope, meanwhile, expressed a preference for a return to the 1516 project, and in June offered to mediate between Michelangelo, who was insistent upon restitution, and the Della Rovere. The latter rejected as dishonest a proposal of Michelangelo that he should sell the house in Rome made available to him by Cardinal Santuquattro and use the proceeds to complete a reduced version of the tomb. Clement VII, meanwhile, who was

primarily interested in the Medici Chapel in Florence, was prepared to countenance an arrangement whereby the tomb figures were only nominally by Michelangelo. This is reported by Sebastiano del Piombo in the following terms: 'Compare mio, io trovo el Papa ogni di più dessideroso de farvi apiacere che mai, et vi vuole un grandissimo bene. . . . Et à mi dito che non accade a dir al Ducca nè ai soi agenti, che la vogliate far finire ad altri; che basta bene che fate desegni et modelli et che l'ordinate vui, che se contentarano troppo. Li havete facto troppo de man vostra, si possono contentare' (My dear friend, I find that the Pope is every day more than ever desirous of doing you favours, and he wishes you very well. . . . He said to me that there is no need to tell the Duke or his agents that you want to get other people to finish the tomb; and that it is quite enough for you to do the designs and models and to supervise it, and they will be more than content. You have already done too much with your own hand, and they can be content with that). By August Michelangelo was veering towards abandoning the blocks and paying 2000 ducats for the completion of the work by other sculptors. In November Francesco Maria della Rovere renounced the 1516 project, and demanded that a reduced tomb should be completed in three years, that the figures in Florence should be transferred to Rome, and that the house in Rome should be sold and the proceeds used for the completion of the tomb. The Pope insisted that the monument should be completed. Sebastiano del Piombo, in a letter of 21 November 1531, reports that he had visited the Pope, who had refused a proposal that sculptures from the tomb should be used for the Medici Chapel: 'de modo che con parole et effetti mi fece toccar con mano che Sua Santità era tanto desideroso che facesti quest'opera, quanto la sua: solamente per satisfactione vostra. Et mi disse ancora: lo faremo renovenire de 25 anni' (so that I came to recognise in what he said and did that His Holiness wishes you to do this work quite as much as his own, purely for your own satisfaction. He said to me: 'We will make him 25 years younger'). On the same day the Pope issued a brief that Michelangelo was to work only on the two commissions. Michelangelo however on 1 December 1531, expressed his willingness to design but not to supervise the tomb. It was stressed by Sebastiano del Piombo that all the sculptures for the tomb need not be handed over to the Della Rovere, since 'loro non sanno quello c'è particolarmente'. On 29 April 1532, at the instance of the Pope, a new contract was signed (Milanesi, pp. 702-6), of which the relevant passages read as follows: ' . . . il detto maestro Michelangelo promesse fare et dare nuovo modello o ver disegno del detto sepolcro ad suo piacere, nella composizione del quale porrà et darà come dar promesse sei statue marmoree cominciate et non finite in Rome o vero in Firenze existenti, qui in Roma, di sua mano et opera finite: similmente ogni altra cosa appartenente a detto sepolcro. Et oltre alle predette cose, detto maestro Michelangelo per fabricare detto sepolcro promesso in fra tre anni proximi, a kalende d'agosto incominciarsi, pagare et sborsare per insino a la somma di duo milia ducati d'oro di Camera, compresa et computata ne' detti duo milia ducati la casa posta in Roma apresso al Macello de' Corbi, nella quale sono certe statue marmoree per il detto sepolcro, et tutto quel

più che oltra a detti duo milia ducati, per construire et fare detto sepolcro füssi di necessità' (The said Michelangelo undertakes to make and provide a new model or design for the said tomb, as he wishes it. Into its composition he will put and provide, as he promised, six marble statues begun but not finished, which are at present in Rome or Florence, and will be finished here in Rome with his own hand and labour; and so will everything else belonging to the tomb. Further, the said Master Michelangelo has promised to build the said tomb within the next three years, starting from 1 August; and to pay and lay out up to 2000 gold Camera ducats. Included and counted in the said 2000 ducats is the house in Rome near the Macello de' Corbi – in which there are some marble statues for the tomb – and anything necessary for making and erecting the said tomb over and beyond the said 2000 ducats). Michelangelo was to work for approximately two months of the year, in Rome, and the figure sculpture was to comprise six statues by Michelangelo and five by other masters. The bronze reliefs were suppressed. It has been suggested alternatively that the six statues to be handed over were the Moses, the two Slaves in the Louvre, the Virgin, Prophet and Sibyl, or the Moses, the four Slaves now in the Accademia and the Victory (Tolnay). The unfinished seated statue of the Pope from the 1505 tomb may, however, also have been involved. After the signature of this contract Michelangelo divided his time between Rome (where he was from August 1532 to June 1533, and from October 1533 to May 1534) and Florence (where he was from June to October 1533, and from May to September 1534). On 25 September 1534 Pope Clement VII died. Early in 1532 the decision was taken to erect the monument not in St. Peter's but in San Pietro in Vincoli. This is referred to in a letter of 30 April 1532 from Giovanni Maria della Porta to the Duke of Urbino (Gotti, ii, pp. 78-9): 'Non si potendo mettere in San Pietro, come non si può, ad ognuno parebe convenientissimo, che si mettesse in San Pietro in Vincula come loco proprio della casa, che fu il titolo di Xisto ancora, e la chiesa fabricata da Giulio, che vi condusse gli frati che vi stano: pur ho detto di scriverne a Vostra Signoria per saperne la volontade sua. Al Popolo sarebbe stata bene, come in loco più frequentato, ma non v'è loco capace nè lumi al proposito, secondo Michelangelo' (As it could not be put in St. Peter's, it seemed to everyone most suitable to put it in S. Pietro in Vincoli, for it is the family's own building, Sixtus (IV) having been a member of it too, and the Church was built by Julius, who also brought there the friars who are there now. I have therefore had a letter sent to Your Lordship about it, so that we may know your will. It would have gone well in the Popolo, as more people go there, but according to Michelangelo there is no site there to take it, and no suitable lighting). Work in connection with the erection of the monument in S. Pietro in Vincoli began in the summer of 1533.

#### *Project of 1542*

On the death of Pope Clement VII a new figure impinges on the history of the tomb in the person of Pope Paul III, who on 1 September 1535 appointed Michelangelo supreme architect, sculptor and painter at the papal court ('Itaque te supremum architectum, sculptorem, et pictorem eiusdem Palatii nostri

Apostolici auctoritate apostolica deputamus'). For the new Pope the tomb was no more than an obstacle to the execution of commissions of which the first, planned by Clement VII, was the fresco of the Last Judgement in the Sistine Chapel (cartoon completed before September 1535; execution begun April/May 1536; completed October 1541). According to Condivi, Michelangelo in the early part of this period continued to work secretly on the monument ('Michelagnolo ... fingendo d'occuparsi, come faceva in parte, nel cartone, secretamente lavorava quelle statue che dovevano andare alla sepoltura'). At this time he contemplated retiring to a Badia of the Bishop of Aleria, near Carrara, or to Urbino. Condivi describes a visit paid by the Pope to the sculptor's studio: 'Dove il reverendissimo Cardinale di Mantova, ch'era presente, vedendo quel Moisè, di che già s'è scritto e qui sotto più copiosamente si scriverà, disse: "Questa sola statua è bastante a far onore alla sepoltura di papa Giulio." Papa Paolo, avendo visto ogni cosa, di nuovo l'affrontò che andasse a star seco, presenti molti cardinali e'l già detto reverendissimo ed illustrissimo di Mantova. E trovando Michelagnolo star duro: "Io farò, disse, che'l duca di Urbino si contenterà di tre statue di tua mano, e che le altre tre, che restano, si dieno a fare ad altri." In questo modo procurò con gli agenti del duca che nascesse nuovo contratto, confermato dall'eccellenza del duca, il qual non volle in ciò dispiacere al papa. Così Michelagnolo, ancorchè potesse fuggire di pagare le tre statue, disobbligato per vigore di tal contratto, nondimeno volle far la spesa egli, e depose per queste e per il restante della sepoltura ducati mille cinquecento ottanta. Così gli agenti di Sua Eccellenza le dettero a fare, e la tragedia della sepoltura e la sepoltura ebber fine' (The very reverend Cardinal of Mantua, who was present, seeing the Moses which I have already mentioned and will describe more fully later, said: 'This statue alone is enough to do honour to the tomb of Pope Julius'. Pope Paul, when he had seen everything, again asked him if he would enter his service; and, apart from the aforesaid most reverend and illustrious Cardinal of Mantua, there were many other cardinals present. When he found that Michelangelo stood firm, he said: 'I will see that the Duke of Urbino is content with three statues from your hand, and that the other three remaining are given to others to make.' In this way he arranged with the Duke's agents that a new contract should be made, and confirmed by His Excellency the Duke, who did not wish to displease the Pope in this matter. So Michelangelo, although he could have avoided paying for the three statues, having been released from the obligation by the contract, wished to pay for it himself; and he deposited for these and for the rest of the tomb 1580 ducats. In this way the agents of His Excellency commissioned them, and both the tomb and the tragedy of the tomb had an end). The facts behind this telescoped narrative are that on 17 November 1536 the Pope issued a *motu proprio* freeing Michelangelo from his obligations to the Della Rovere heirs. Francesco Maria della Rovere died in October 1538, and on 7 September 1539 his successor as Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo, wrote to Michelangelo (Gotti, i, pp. 263-4) agreeing to the completion of the Last Judgement 'con ferma opinione et speranza però, che, espeditovene, abbiate poi a voltarve tutto al finimento di detta

sepoltura, radoppiandovi la vostra diligenza et sollecitudine, per ricompensare ogni perdita di tempo' (with the firm understanding and hope that, when it is finished, you will then turn altogether to the completion of the tomb, redoubling your efforts and diligence to make up lost time). In 1541, on the completion of the Last Judgement, Michelangelo was forthwith diverted by the Pope on to work in the Cappella Paolina. On 23 November 1541 Cardinal Ascanio Parisani wrote to the Duke of Urbino (Gaye, ii, pp. 290-1), 'mostrando che avendo (Michelangelo) a dipingere la cappella, non si potrà per lui lavorare la sepoltura, per esser vechio e risoluto, finita detta cappella (se tanto vivrà), non poter più lavorare, e vi correrà tre o quattro anni, e bisognerà che per altra via vi si provveda' (explaining that, as Michelangelo had to paint the Chapel, he would not be able to work the tomb for him, as he was old and had decided that, when the Chapel was finished (if he lived so long), he would not be able to work any more; it would take three or four years, and other arrangements would have to be made). It is proposed in this letter that the tomb should be completed in accordance with the last design and contract, but with the following proviso: 'Io non ci cognosco altra differenza che questa, che le sei statue, quali si doveano fare di mano del predetto Michelagnolo, si faranno per mano di un altro maestro con il modello e disegno suo, benchè si farà diligenza per veder se di queste sei statue se ne potra avere qualcuna o fatta o abozzata di sua mano. Di che ne fo dubbio, perchè Nostro Signore pare che se ne voglia valere a ornamento pubblico di detta cappella, asserendo che per lo nuovo disegno de la sepoltura non potrano servir quelle. Io vedo che se ora non si piglia questa risoluzione per la sepoltura di Papa Giulio nel modo detto, non la vedremo più fornita a li dì nostri' (The only difference I see is this: that the six statues which were to be made by Michelangelo will now be made by some other master after his models and designs, though care will be taken to discover if among these six statues it is possible to have something made or blocked out by his hand. I doubt if this will be possible, as His Holiness seems to want to use them for public decoration of the Chapel, and says they cannot be used for the new design of the tomb. I can see that, if we do not take this decision over the tomb of Pope Julius, we will not see it completed in our time). The Duke refused to accept this proposal, and on 6 April 1542 wrote to Michelangelo (Gaye, ii, pp. 289-90) urging that the tomb should contain three autograph statues: 'Son contentissimo facendo voi ponere le tre statue intieramente condotte e finite di man' vostra, comprendendovi in questo numero quella del Moyse, nela sepoltura della santa memoria di Papa Giulio mio zio . . . lalltre tre statue in quel mezo potiate far lavorare per mano d'altro buono e lodato Maestro, con il disegno però et assistentia della persona vostra' (I am content if you put three statues worked and finished entirely by your hand, including the Moses, in the tomb in memory of Pope Julius, my uncle . . . you could then have the other three statues worked by the hand of some other good and reputable master, after your designs and with your personal assistance). On 20 July 1542 a petition based on this agreement was submitted to Michelangelo to the Pope (Milanesi, pp. 485-7): 'Onde per dare esecuzione a detto accordo, il prefato messer

Michelagnolo allogò a fornire le dette tre statue, quali erano molto innanzi, cioè una Nostra Donna con il Putto in braccio, ritta, et uno Profeta et una Sibilla a sedere, a Raffaello da Montelupo, fiorentino, aprovato fra e'migliori maestri di questi tempi, per scudi quattrocento . . . et il resto del quadro et ornamento della sepoltura, eccetto l'ultimo frontispizio, alsì allogò a maestro Giovanni de' Marchesi et a Francesco da Urbino, scarpellini et intagliatori di pietre, per scudi settecento. . . . Restavagli a fornire le tre statue di sua mano, cioè un Moises et dua prigion: le quali tre statue sono quasi fornite. Ma perche li detta dua prigion furen fatti quando l'opera si era disegnata che fuisse molto maggiore, dove andavano assai più statue; la quale poi nel sopradetto contratto fu risecata et ristretta: per il che non convengono in questo disegno, nè a modo alcuno ci possono stare bene; però detto messer Michelagnolo per non mancare a l'onore suo, dètte cominciamento a dua altre statue che vanno dalle bande del Moises, la Vita contemplativa et la attiva, le quali sono assai bene avanti, di sorta che con facilità si possono da altri maestri fornire' (Therefore, in order to carry out this agreement, Michelangelo allotted the making of three statues which were well forward - a standing figure of Our Lady with the Child in her arms, and seated figures of a Prophet and a Sibyl - to Raffaello da Montelupo, a Florentine, considered one of the best masters of the time, for 400 scudi . . . and the rest of the masonry and decoration of the tomb, apart from the topmost pediment, were allotted to Master Giovanni de' Marchesi and Francesco da Urbino, stone-cutters and carvers, for 700 scudi. . . . There remained the three figures he was to make with his own hand, that is, a Moses and two Captives; these three figures are almost finished. But as the two Captives were made when it was intended to erect the tomb on a much larger scale and with many more statues; and as this design has been cut down and reduced in the aforesaid contract: for these reasons, these statues are not suitable for this new design, and could in no way go well in it. Michelangelo, so as not to fall short of his obligations, has begun two more statues to go on each side of the Moses - the Contemplative Life and the Active Life; and these are so well forward, that they could easily be finished by other masters). Michelangelo at the conclusion of this petition asks permission to entrust the completion of the two remaining statues to Raffaello da Montelupo and stipulates that a sum of 1100-1200 scudi will be required for the completion of the tomb (200 scudi to Raffaello da Montelupo for the completion of the Vita Attiva and Contemplativa, 300 scudi to the same sculptor for the three upper figures, 500 scudi for the quadro and ornament, and 100 scudi for the frontespizio). During the summer a final contract was drawn up on the basis of these proposals. There is evidence, however, that practical steps towards the implementation of these proposals had been taken at an earlier date. On 27 February 1542 an agreement was signed between Michelangelo and Raffaello da Montelupo, whereby the latter agreed to finish 'tre figure di marmo maggiore che'l naturale, bozzate di mia mano'. This contract envisages the autograph completion of the Active and Contemplative Life ('per la presente sono contento, non ostante tal convenzione, che detto messer Michelangelo possa fornire da sè dette dua statue'). On 16 May 1542 a further contract was signed with

Giovanni de' Marchesi (who was later relieved) and Francesco da Urbino. In August 1542 a parallel contract was drawn up between the representative of the Duke of Urbino and Raffaello da Montelupo providing for 'cinque statue di marmo che vanno in detta sepoltura et che erano prima sbozzate et quasi finite dal prefato messer Michelangelo Bonarroti; le quali sonno, videlicet, una Nostra Donna con il Putto in braccio, una Sibilla, un Propheta, una Vita activa et una Vita contemplativa . . . le quali statue esso maestro Raphaello ha da dar finite del tutto nella stanza dove sono in casa del prefato messer Michelangelo Bonarroti, nel modo et secondo che giornalmente li ordinarà et commetterà il detto Michelangelo, a cui obbedienza ha da stare' (five marble statues to go in the said tomb, which were earlier blocked out and almost finished by the aforesaid Michelangelo Buonarroti. These are: a Madonna with the Child on her arm, a Sibyl, a Prophet, an Active Life and a Contemplative Life. . . . Master Raffaello is to complete these statues entirely in the room where they stand in the house of the aforesaid Master Michelangelo Buonarroti, in the manner that and according as the said Michelangelo instructs and orders day by day; and he must obey him). On 5 October 1542, the terms on the pilasters were subcontracted by Raffaello da Montelupo to 'Jacomo mio garzone' (probably Jacopo del Duca). Michelangelo, in a letter of October 1542 to Luigi del Riccio (Milanesi, p. 488) complains that at that time the contract had not been ratified by the Duke. The latter seems to have refused to ratify the contract, and as a result, in October 1542, Michelangelo determined to complete the Active and Contemplative Life personally ('Io mi son resoluto, poichè visto che la retificazione non viene, di starmi in casa a finire le tre figure come son d'accordo col Duca . . . e chi si vuol cruciar, si cruci') (I have decided, as the ratification has not come, to stay at home and finish the three figures, as I have agreed with the Duke . . . if anyone grumbles, let them). Raffaello da Montelupo's statues were installed on the monument on 25 January 1545, and Michelangelo's in February of the same year ('Io credo giovedì dare ordine da tirar le figure a San Piero in Vincola').

The following sculptures were made in connection with the monument:

(A) MOSES (Plate 15, Fig. 30). San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.  
H. 235 cm.

A figure of Moses opposed to a figure of St. Paul seems to have been projected from the first phase of the monument. The pose of the figure as executed is, however, radically different from that shown on the two drawings in Berlin. The figure was consistently intended for the central register of the tomb, and the decision to place it in 1542 on eye level in the lowest register is a violation of its essential character. Though it has been suggested (Thode, Brinckmann) that the figure was carved for the first version of the monument, perhaps as early as 1506, the balance of probability is that it was begun in connection with the project of 1513, and its style would be inexplicable at any earlier time. The figure appears to have been left unfinished in 1516, and is one of the three figures alluded to in a letter of October 1542 from Michelangelo to Luigi del Riccio.

Prior to 1516, when it was cast, the figure was set more deeply in its niche than it is now. Condivi describes it in the following terms: 'Tra le quali maravigliosa è quella di Moisè, duce e capitano degli Ebrei, il quale se ne sta a sedere in atto di pensoso e savio, tenendo sotto il braccio destro le tavole della Legge e con la sinistra mano sostenendosi il mento, come persona stanca e piena di cure. . . . È la faccia piena di vivacità e di spirito, e accomodata ad indurre amore insieme e terrore, qual forse fu il vero' (Among these is the marvellous statue of Moses, leader and captain of the Jews. He is seated in the attitude of one wise and thoughtful, holding under his right arm the Tables of the Law, and supporting his chin with his left hand, like a man tired and full of cares. . . . His face is full of vitality and spirit, apt to arouse both love and terror; and this was perhaps the truth). It has been pointed out (Panofsky) that the grouping of Moses with St. Paul is of Neoplatonic origin, and is explained by a passage in Pico della Mirandola: 'Con questo viso vidde Moyse, vidde Paolo, viddono molti altri eletti la faccia di Dio, et questo e quello che nostri Theologi chiamano la cognitione intellettuale, cognitione intuitiva' (With such a vision did Moses, Paul, and many others of the elect see the face of God; it is what our theologians call intellectual or intuitive cognition). The four figures projected for the platform of the monument of 1505, therefore, represented 'the powers which assure immortality by acting as intermediaries between the terrestrial and the translunar world'.

(B) DYING SLAVE (Plate 16B). Louvre, Paris. H. 229 cm.

(C) REBELLIOUS SLAVE (Plate 16A). Louvre, Paris  
H. 215 cm.

Both figures appear to have been begun in 1513, (B) being designed for a position in front of the pilaster to the left of the centre of the front face of the tomb, and (C) for one of the two angle pilasters of the front, either on the left (Tolnay) or the right (Wilde). A sketch for a pendant to (B) to be set against the right centre pilaster is in the Louvre (Tolnay). It was subsequently proposed (1532) that the two figures should occupy the niches on the front of the monument, but this was abandoned in 1542 on grounds of size. About 1546, after the completion of the tomb, the two Slaves were given by Michelangelo to Ruberto Strozzi, by whom they were presented to Francis I of France. Later they passed to the Connétable Anne de Montmorency, and thence to Richelieu. In the middle of the seventeenth century they decorated the portal of the Château de Richelieu, but were moved to Paris before 1749, and in 1794 were purchased for the French state. According to Condivi, the two figures represented liberal arts. This explanation is dismissed as 'lächerlich' by Ollendorf ('Michelangelos Gefangene im Louvre', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, n.f. ix, 1898, pp. 273-81), who regards the figures as symbols of the Platonic concept of 'die menschliche Seele auf der Erde wie in Gefangenschaft'. Panofsky regards the figures as personifications of 'the human soul as enslaved by matter, and therefore comparable to the souls of dumb animals'. Condivi's interpretation is also rejected by Tolnay on the ground that it is opposed (i) to the traditional personification of the Liberal Arts, and (ii) to the

traditional use of the slave in Christian art as a symbol of the pagan world. The Slaves are regarded by Vasari as prisoners, and are interpreted by Justi as occupied provinces, in allusion to the war projects of Julius II. Vasari's explanation was also adopted in 1577 by Paolo Mini (*Difesa della Città di Firenze e dei Fiorentini*, Lyon, 1577, p. 212): 'e di due prigionieri che il s. Ruberto Strozzi presentò al Re Francesco.' An interpretation on these lines is untenable, since the 1505 project for the tomb incorporated similar figures at a time when Julius II's military adventures had not been begun. Condivi's explanation is accepted by Thode, Kriegbaum and Janson. Thode (K.U., pp. 183-4) observes that the two figures are 'nicht heidnische, sondern mittelalterliche Vorstellungen . . . die hier eine freilich ganz neue, von antiken Eindrücken bestimmte Ausdrucksform gewonnen haben.' (B) is accompanied by an ape, and is accepted by Kriegbaum and Janson as a personification of Painting. As noted by Panofsky, an ape also appears in (C); this does not, however, invalidate the interpretation of the ape as 'ars simia naturae', but precludes the explanation of (C) as Architecture (Kriegbaum) rather than Sculpture (Janson). The block on which the foot of (C) rests is identified by Kriegbaum as an unfinished capital. The meaning of the gestures of the two figures remains in doubt. According to Condivi, the Liberal Arts were to be shown bound in order to signify that they, like the Pope, were the prisoners of death. For this reason (B) was regarded by Grimm as a representation of 'der Augenblick des Sterbens'. The figures are, however, loosely fettered, and it is possible that the sculptor's intention was to show the Liberal Arts freed by the Pope. In this case (B) would represent awakening rather than death or sleep. Formally (B) has been related (Justi) to the prisoners on a drawing by Giuliano da San Gallo of a lateral view of the triumphal arch at Orange, and (C) (Tolnay) to figures on a Gigantomachia sarcophagus in the Vatican.

(D) VICTORY (Plate 21). Palazzo Vecchio, Florence.  
H. 261 cm.

In the initial projects for the tomb, the niches in the lowest register appear to have been filled with female Victory figures, the designs for which seem to be reflected in the Victory figure carved by Ammanati for the Nari monument (see Plate 73 below). At a later date (see below) this plan was changed, and provision was made for two male Victory groups, of which the present group was alone executed. It is assumed by Kriegbaum that the group was begun about 1506, and that the lower figure was worked on again in the second decade of the sixteenth century. On grounds of style and for other reasons this early dating is impossible. The figure has also been assigned to ca. 1519 (Thode), ca. 1524 (Bürger), 1527 (Popp, in *Burlington Magazine*, lxix, 1936, p. 207), after 1530 (Wilde), and ca. 1532-4 (Tolnay). The only valid basis of dating is supplied by the sculptures in the Medici Chapel, and the balance of probability is that the work was executed ca. 1521-3. The fact that oak leaves, an emblem of the Della Rovere, appear in the hair of the standing figure, suggests that the group should be interpreted as a political allegory (Justi), rather than as a 'spiritual self-portrait' (Tolnay) or 'eine Allegorie des Eros' (Brinckmann). There is no reason for supposing that the group

refers to the relationship between Michelangelo and Tommaso Cavalieri. The group was carved in Florence and remained in the studio in Via Mozza. It was presented to the Grand-Duke Cosimo I by Leonardo Buonarroti, and was installed in the Regio Salone (Salone dei Cinquecento) by Vasari. Its site is established by Bocchi-Cinelli (1677): 'La statua, che è nel mezzo di questa sala, posta allato alla porta, onde si via poscia alla Segreteria, è una Vittoria, marmo del divin Buonarroti' (The statue in the middle of this room, beside the door to the Segreteria, is a figure of Victory, a marble of the divine Buonarroti). It was moved in 1868 to the Bargello, and in 1920 was installed on its present plinth at the end of the Salone dei Cinquecento. In the 1532 project for the tomb the Victory was to have been accompanied by a second Victory group. Two main theories regarding this have been advanced: (i) that the scheme of the projected figure is recorded in Vincenzo Danti's Honour triumphant over Falsehood (Tolnay), and (ii) that a fragmentary model in the Casa Buonarroti, generally regarded as a bozzetto for the Hercules and Cacus group for the Piazza della Signoria, is a study for the companion figure (Wilde, Laux). A number of cogent arguments have been advanced in favour of this second contention, but the general character of the scheme would be more readily consistent with a free-standing than with a niche group, and the first theory is the more plausible.

- (E) YOUNG SLAVE (Plate 17A). Accademia, Florence.  
H. 256 cm.
- (F) BEARDED SLAVE (Plate 18). Accademia, Florence.  
H. 263 cm.
- (G) ATLAS SLAVE (Plate 17B). Accademia, Florence.  
H. 277 cm.
- (H) AWAKENING SLAVE (Plate 19). Accademia, Florence.  
H. 267 cm.

There is no general agreement as to the date of the four unfinished Slaves in the Accademia in Florence. It has been assumed that the Slaves are the four figures referred to in Sellajo's letter of 13 February 1519 ('voi questa state farete per ogni modo 4 fighure') (Justi, Thode, Kriegbaum, Laux). They have also been dated ca. 1525 (Wilde), and ca. 1530-34 (Tolnay). The year 1534 is the latest admissible date, since the figures were carved in Florence and remained in the Via Mozza studio with the Victory. A sheet of studies for figures of Slaves for the tomb in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, is dated by Dussler (No. 194) ca. 1516. The unfinished condition of the figures make them extremely difficult to date with any confidence, but the balance of evidence is in favour of a dating ca. 1519. Michelangelo's authorship of the four unfinished figures is accepted by all students save Hildebrandt (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Strassburg, 1916, 3rd ed., pp. 119 ff.) and Kriegbaum (pp. 36-7), according to whom the figures were substantially blocked out by studio assistants and subsequently in part reworked by Michelangelo. Kriegbaum denies Michelangelo's intervention in (G) and (H) and limits his intervention in (E) and (F). This view is greatly exaggerated, but the less finished areas are none the less looser and more rudimentary than, e.g., those of the St.

Matthew, for the carving of which Michelangelo was personally responsible. The weakest of the figures are (F) and (H); the most clearly autograph area is the torso of (G). In March 1544 an attempt was made by Cosimo I to purchase the studio in the Via Mozza with the Slaves, and after Michelangelo's death these were presented to him by Leonardo Buonarroti. On 22 May 1564 Cosimo I was advised to accept this gift. No action regarding their display was taken until a considerably later date, when Buontalenti was instructed by Francesco I to incorporate them in the Grotto of the Boboli Gardens. They are shown in the grotto in old photographs, and are described there by Soldini (*Il reale giardino di Boboli*, Florence, 1798, p. 32) in the following terms: 'Negli angoli di questa Grotta sonovi piantate quattro grandi statue di marmo, abbozzate di mano del famoso Michel'Angiolo Buonarroti; le quali vi stanno in atto di sostenere gran quantità di spugne petrificate, accordando si bene la rozzezza di quei naturali scherzi col ruvido di quegli abbozzi, che il tutto pare che sia stato operato dalla natura medesima' (In the corners of this grotto stand four great marble statues, sketched out with the hand of the famous Michelangelo Buonarroti; they stand there supporting a great mass of petrified sponge, and the coarseness of these sports of Nature goes so well with the roughness of the blocked out figures, that the whole seems made by Nature herself). The figures were moved in 1908 to the Accademia. It is inferred by Tolnay that (G) was intended for the left angle of the front as a pendant to (C). For the relevance of the four figures to (B) and (C) see text pp. 33-4.

(I) RACHEL (Plate 35). San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. H. 197 cm.

(J) LEAH (Plate 34). San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. H. 209 cm.

The first of the two figures is described by Condivi in the following terms: 'Una donna di statura più che'l naturale, ma di bellezza rara, con un ginocchio piegato, non in terra, ma sopra d'uno zoccolo, col volto e con ambe le mani levate al cielo, sì che pare che in ogni sua parte spiri amore' (A woman in stature larger than nature, but of rare beauty, with one knee bent, not on the ground, but on a plinth; her face and both her hands are raised to heaven, so that she seems to breathe forth love from every part). Condivi describes the second figure as: 'Dall'altro canto, cioè dalla sinistra del Moisè, è la Vita Attiva, con uno specchio nella destra mano, nel quale attentamente si contempla, significando per questo le nostre azioni dover esser fatte consideratamente, e nella sinistra con una ghirlanda di fiori. Nel che Michelagnolo ha seguitato Dante, del qual'è sempre stato studioso, che nel suo Purgatorio finge aver trovata la contessa Matilda, qual'egli piglia per la Vita Attiva, in un prato di fiori' (On the other side, on the left of the Moses, is the Active Life, with a mirror in her right hand in which she is attentively looking at herself, meaning that our actions should be done with consideration; and she holds a garland of flowers in her left. In this, Michelangelo has followed Dante, whom he had always studied; for in his Purgatory he pretends to have found the Countess Matilda, whom he takes for the Active Life, in a field of flowers). Condivi's description of the objects in the hands of the second figure is incorrect; that

in the right hand is not a mirror but a diadem (Thode, Tolnay, Kriegbaum) and that in the left hand is a laurel wreath. Vasari, in the edition of 1568, describes the two figures as Rachel and Leah: 'Que' quattro termini mettevano in mezzo tre nicchie, due delle quali erano tonde dalle bande, e vi dovevano andare le Vittorie; in cambio delle quali, in una messe Lia figliuola di Laban, per la vita attiva; con uno specchio in mano per la considerazione si deve avere per le azioni nostre; e nell'altra, una ghirlanda di fiori, per le virtù che ornano la vita nostra in vita, e dopo la morte la fanno gloriosa. L'altra fu Rachel sua sorella, per la vita contemplativa, con le mani giunte, con un ginocchio piegato, e col volto par che stia elevata in ispirito. Le quali statue condusse di sua mano Michelagnolo in meno di un anno' (These four terms framed three niches, of which the two at the sides were round, and were to hold the Victories. Instead of these, he placed in one of the niches Leah, the daughter of Laban, representing the Active Life; in one hand she holds a mirror to signify the consideration we should give our actions, in the other a garland of flowers to represent the virtues which adorn our life while it lasts and glorify it after death. The other figure was her sister Rachel, representing the Contemplative Life, with her hands clasped, her knee bent, and her expression one of ecstasy). It is suggested by Wilde that the Active Life (Leah) 'might well have been conceived in 1532-3, possibly as one of those new statues for the monument for which the artist at that time wanted to prepare full-size clay models'. The execution of the second figure seems to date from a considerably later time, and is associative with the contract of 1542. Both statues are regarded by Venturi as in large part by Raffaello da Montelupo. It has also been postulated (Tolnay) that the hair of the Active Life was finished by this sculptor. The Contemplative Life (Rachel) is certainly autograph (Kriegbaum, Tolnay), and the two statues are regarded by Justi as 'seine letzten ganz von ihm selbst vollendeten Marmorwerke'.

(K) VIRGIN AND CHILD. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

The figure of the Virgin and Child above and behind the sarcophagus appears to have been conceived by Michelangelo in connection with the project of 1532, was continued by Sandro di Giovanni Fancelli (1537), and was completed by or under the direction of Raffaello da Montelupo.

(L) PROPHET. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. H 204 cm.

The figure of an unnamed Prophet on the right of the upper register of the completed monument was planned and perhaps blocked out by Michelangelo ca. 1532-5 (Justi, Tolnay), and was finished by or under the direction of Raffaello da Montelupo.

(M) SIBYL. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. H. 210 cm.

The same procedure seems to have been followed as with the Prophet (L). It has been rightly noted (Justi) that of the four upper figures, it is in this that Michelangelo's presence is most clearly felt.

(N) EFFIGY. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome. L. 174 cm.

Executed by Tommaso di Pietro Boscoli.

*Plate 22: APOLLO*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The statue is mentioned by Vasari in the 1550 edition of the *Vite*: 'Cominciò ancora una figuretta di marmo per Baccio Valori, d'uno Apollo, che cavava una freccia del turcasso, acciò col favor suo, fosse mezano in fargli fare la pace col Papa, et con la Casa de' Medici, la quale era da lui stata molto ingiuriata' (He began a small marble figure of Apollo taking an arrow from his quiver for Baccio Valori, so that this latter would use his credit as a mediator in making his peace with the Pope and the Medici family, who had been much wronged by him). The figure is alluded to by Condivi, and is described once more in the 1568 edition of the *Vite*: 'Dove assicurato, Michelagnolo cominciò, per farsi amico Baccio Valori, una figura di tre braccia di marmo, che era uno Apollo che si cavava del turcasso una freccia, e lo condusse presso al fine; il quale è oggina nella camera del principe di Fiorenza; cosa rarissima, ancora che non sia finita del tutto' (Thus established, Michelangelo, in order to make a friend of Baccio Valori, began a marble figure, three braccia high, of Apollo taking an arrow from his quiver, and he brought it almost to completion. It is today in the apartment of the Prince of Florence, a precious thing, even if not quite finished). An inventory of 1553 (for which see C. Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I de' Medici*, Florence, 1893, p. 35) lists the figure in the fourth chamber of the Duke's quarters in the Palazzo Vecchio along with the Bacchus of Bandinelli and the Bacchus of Sansovino: 'uno David del Buonarrotto imperfeto'. It was subsequently placed in a niche of the amphitheatre of the Boboli Gardens, and was later moved first to the Uffizi and then to the Bargello. An undated letter from Baccio Valori to Michelangelo (Frey, pp. 323-4), which can be assigned with some confidence to April 1532, refers to the statue: 'Inoltre io non voglio sollecitarvi della mia fighura, perche mi rendo certissimo, per l'affetione conosco mi portate, non ha bisogno di sollecitudine. Vi ricordo bene, che a satis- fatione dell'animo mio non ho cosa che io desideri piu che questa. Et bisognandovi danari o altra cosa che voi pensiate che per me si possa, advisate, che non vi manchero in conto alcuno' (Besides, I do not want to bother you for my figure, because I am sure there is no need, on account of the affection I know you bear me. I assure you that there is nothing I desire more than this for the satisfaction of my mind. And if you need money, or anything else you think I could manage, let me know, so that you lack nothing). There has been extensive discussion both of the date and subject of the figure. On the strength of the inventory reference the figure is accepted as a David by Knapp, Mackowsky, Thode and Popp (the latter with the untenable suggestion that it was made in 1525-6 for the Medici Chapel). The protuberance at the back of the base is interpreted by these students as the head of Goliath. It is accepted as an Apollo by Kriegbaum (with the suggestion that the protuberance represents the sun), and is regarded by Tolnay as David which was transformed into an Apollo at the request of Valori. A drawing after the figure in the Scholz collection ascribed to Rosso is consistent only with the view that it was an Apollo. It may be noted that a number of other works in the

1553 inventory of the Palazzo Vecchio are inaccurately described. Tolnay follows Popp in assigning the figure on stylistic grounds to 1525-6. There is, however, no compelling reason to doubt the twice repeated statement of Vasari that it was begun for Baccio Valori in the middle of 1530, and was from the first designed as an Apollo.

*Plate 23: CHRIST*  
S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome

The statue is mentioned in 1550 in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite*: 'Mandò in questo tempo Pietro Urbano Pistolese suo creato a Roma, a mettere in opra un Christo ignudo, che tiene la croce, il quale è una figura miracolosissima, che fu posto nella Minerva allato alla cappella maggiore per M. Antonio Metelli' (He sent his assistant, Pietro Urbano of Pistoia, to Rome at this time, to work up a nude Christ holding the Cross; it is a miraculous figure, and was put by Metello Vari in the Minerva, by the high altar). In the second edition of the *Vite* (1568) the word 'mirabilissima' is substituted for 'miracolosissima'. The contract for the statue (Milanesi, pp. 641-2) was signed on 14 June 1514. The relevant passages read as follows: 'Sia noto e manifesto a chi legerà la presente scritta, come messere Bernardo Cencio canonico di San Piero e maestro Mario Scappucci e Metello Vari ànno dato a fare a Michelagniolo di Lodovico Simoni scultore una figura di marmo d'un Cristo grande quanto el naturale, ignudo, ritto, con una croce in braccio, in quell'attitudine che parrà al detto Michelagniolo, per prezo di ducati dugento d'oro di Camera. . . . La quale figura el detto Michelagniolo promette farla in termine di 4 anni prossimi da venire' (Let it be known and manifest to the reader of this document that Master Bernardo Cencio, canon of St. Peter's, Master Mario Scappucci and Metello Vari have commissioned from Michelangelo di Lodovico Simoni, sculptor, a marble figure of Christ, life-size, nude, standing, holding a cross, and in whatever attitude the said Michelangelo thinks best, for a price of 200 gold Camera ducats. . . . The said Michelangelo undertakes to make this figure within the next four years). The first version of the statue was begun by Michelangelo in Rome, but was abandoned in 1516 when he returned to Florence, 'essendogli riuscito nel viso un pelo nero ovvero linea' (a black line or flaw having appeared on the face). On 26 September 1517 Michelangelo demanded a sum of 150 scudi in connection with the statue, and on 3 October 1517 this was despatched. A letter of 13 December 1517 from Vari to Michelangelo in Florence enquires after the progress of the statue: 'Questa è per avisarve, como io ve feci intendere per via de Siena già molti di sonno, che, attento la importantia delle cose mee sopra al facto della cappella della Minerva, volessete expedire, che già ne era tempo et piu che tempo; del che non ho hauto resposta alcuna. Ultimamente havete mandato per denari; uelli ho facto dare per non mancare al debito mio et sempre son stati a uostra petitione dal primo die e nientedimeno delle cose mee io non intendo cosa alcuna. Me saria parso, füssi honesto, già tre anni et sette mesi me fecessino intendere almanco per un verso, se volete aspecti piu per un Cristo nudo. El che non

havendo voi scripto, stimai fossi, perche essendo facta l'opera, non bisognassi altre lettere. Pertanto ho expectato dicta opera die per die, et non venendo, per lo interesse grande che me importa supra la heredita, com voi sapete, ve ho rescripto la presente' (This is to inform you, as I let you know through Siena many days ago, that you should make haste, in view of the importance of my commission in the chapel in the Minerva; for there has been time, more than enough time, for it. And I have had no reply at all. Recently you sent for money; I had it paid to you, in order to fulfil my obligations, and I have always, even from the first day, been open to your requests. And yet, in spite of this, I know nothing at all about the state of my commission. I would have thought that, after three years and seven months, it would have been no more than proper for you to let me know, even though just in a line, if you want me to wait longer for the nude Christ. When you did not write, I assumed it was because the work had been finished and letters were thus not needed. I have been expecting the work each day, and as it has not come I have written you this letter, on account of the great importance to me of the inheritance, which you know). Other protests were sent by Vari on 26 July and 24 November 1518; in the latter he asked that the statue should be completed by Easter. On 21 December 1518 Michelangelo admitted to Leonardo Sellajo (Milanesi, p. 398) that the marble for the statue had not yet arrived in Florence, and that work on it had therefore not been begun: 'Io sono ancora sollecitato da messer Metello Vari della sua figura, che è anche là in Pisa e verrà in queste prime scafe. Io non gli dò mai risposto, nè anche voglio più scrivere a voi, finchè io non dò cominciato a lavorare; perchè io muoio di dolore e parmi essere diventato uno ciurmatore contro a mia voglia' (I have been asked again by Master Metello Vari for his figure, which is also in Pisa and will come in the first boats. I never replied, and I do not want to write to you either, until I have begun to work on it. For I am dying of grief, and feel I have become a swindler against my will). On 19 March 1519 Vari wrote to Michelangelo suggesting that if the new figure had not been begun, the flawed figure should be completed: 'Sonno molti jorni che ve o fatto scrivere per sollicitatione sopra lo fatto della figura, aprisimandose lo tempo, et non sapevo niente, e la importanza esser grave. Son forzato, se non o risposta, andarme dove state et vedere quell meglio partito se possa fare, per non cadere in tanto preiuditicio: per tanto ve prego, se pregar vi posso, mandarme uno verso de lettera, acio possa de meglio voglia dormire. Et se la figura li non la havete fatta, al manco farete finire questa de Roma; o vero se ne havete nisunna fatta in altra figura et sia allo proposito, puro mene havisarete. Et questo se fa per farve piacere et per la importanza della cosa. Non altro' (It is many days since I wrote to ask you about the state of the figure, since the date was drawing near, and I knew nothing about it, and it was highly important. Unless I receive a reply, I shall be compelled to come to where you are and see, if I can, what the best solution is, so as not to fall into prejudice. However, I beg you as strongly as I can to send me a line, so that I may sleep easier. And if you have not done the figure in Florence, at least have this one in Rome finished; or, if you have done nothing, let me know of any other suitable figure. This is to convenience you and because

the matter is important. That is all). On 6 April 1519 Metello Vari wrote to Michelangelo once more: 'Credo piu et piu lettere haverve scripto et de nisunna haveva mai hauta risposta, del che ne sonno molto maravigliato' (I have, I think, written you very many letters, and have never had a reply to any of them, which surprises me very much). On 13 January 1520 he wrote again, on receiving news from Leonardo Sellajo that the figure was virtually complete: 'Ad questi di passati messer Leonardo selari me dette nova, che voi havevate per finita la figura, del che lo hebj molto ad caro, atento che lo tempo senne vene' (In the last few days Master Leonardo Sellajo has given me the news of your having finished the figure. It was very welcome, seeing that the date has passed). By March 1520 a pupil of Michelangelo, Federigo Frizzi, was making preparations for a tabernacle for the figure in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. In April Leonardo Sellajo informed Metello Vari that the figure was finished, and that Michelangelo was anxious to have the balance of his fee. This was refused by Vari, who stipulated, in a letter of 24 April, that the figure should first be delivered in Rome: 'Ve prego etc., la fate vinire et subito, nanzi sia gionta, faremo cio, che seranno pagati li vostri denari senza nisunna dilazione' (I beg you to send it, and as soon as it has arrived we will have you paid your money without any delay). The figure was retained by Michelangelo, and on 25 October 1520 Vari agreed to pay the sum required. The money was despatched to Florence on 30 January 1521, and on 31 March 1521 Michelangelo's pupil, Pietro Urbano, reported from Rome that the statue had arrived at Santa Severa and was awaited in Rome, and that the form of Frizzi's tabernacle had been agreed upon. The statue arrived in Rome in June or July 1521, when Pietro Urbano writes: 'O levata la fighura darripa; o auto grande noia . . . perche volevano che Christo paghasse ghabella di entrare in Roma' (I have brought the figure up from the Ripa. I had great trouble . . . because they wanted Christ to pay duty to enter Rome). It was apparently unfinished in respect of certain details, and on these Pietro Urbano worked. An unfavourable report on Urbano's activities was sent to Michelangelo on 6 September 1521 by Sebastiano del Piombo, who alleges that: 'Credo siate stracco sentir nove del vostro Pietro Urbano . . . : per l'amor io ve porto son forzato a farvi intendere parte de' suoi boni portamenti . . . tucto quello ha lavorato, ha stroppiato ogni cossa, maxime ha scortato el piede drito che si vede manifestamente ne le ditta che lui l'à mozze, ancora ha scortate le ditta de le mane maxime quella che tiene la croce che è la drita che'l Frissi dice che par che lì habi lavorato colloro che fano le zanbele; non par lavorata de marmo, par il habi lavorato coloro che lavorano di pasta, tanto sonno stentate: . . . questo ve dico che si vede manifestamente che l'à lavorato ne la barba, ch'el' mio putto credo haveria havuto più descretione che par habi lavorato con un cortel che non habi ponta a filiar quella barba: ma facilmente se li potrà remediar. Ancora à moza una nara del naso che pocco più era guastato el naso che altri che Dio l'averia conzo' (I think you will be tired of hearing news of your Pietro Urbano . . . : out of the love I bear you I am bound to let you know about his fine behaviour . . . he has bungled everything he has done; above all, he has shortened the right foot, which one clearly sees in the

toes he has mutilated. He has also shortened the fingers, particularly of the right hand holding the Cross – Frizzi says they look as if biscuit-makers have worked them; they are so thin that they look more as if they were worked from paste than from marble. . . . It is clear to see that he has worked on the beard, and I think my little boy would have shown more judgement – he seems to have carved it with a knife with no point. But it could easily be remedied. He has mutilated one of the nostrils too, almost ruining the nose). The completion of the statue was entrusted to Frizzi, and on 29 December it was unveiled. It appears to have stood on a base roughly at eye level, with the inscription:

METELLVS VARVS ET PAVL.  
CASTELLANVS ROMANI MAR-  
TIAE PORTIAE TESTAMENTO  
HOC ALTARE EREXERUNT CVM  
TERTIA PARTE IMPENSARVM  
ET DOTIS. QVAM METELLVS  
DE SVO SVPPLENS, DEO OPT.  
MAX DICAVIT.

Leonardo Sellajo reported to Michelangelo on 12 January 1522 that: 'La fighura, chome vi dissi, è schoperta e riesce benissimo; ma nonnestante questo o detto e fatto dire, dove a me è parso a proposito, nonn essere di vostra mano. Che bene è vero, voj l'avete in alchuno luogho ritrocha, dove Pietro l'aveva istoriata' (The figure, as I told you, has been unveiled and is most successful; but nevertheless I have spread it about, where it seemed suitable, that it is not from your hand. It is true, you retouched it in some places where Pietro had mutilated it). Michelangelo meanwhile had offered to carve a new statue for Vari, who refused his proposal but expressed the wish to receive the spoiled version of the figure. This is alluded to in a letter from Leonardo Sellajo to Michelangelo of 14 December 1521: 'T'o una vostra chon una a messer Metello, laquale o mandata. Lui nonno posuto vedere, per l'esere le chose nel termine che sono, sono stato chol Frizi. Lui mi dice, Metello vuole quel Christo chominciato che è in chasa; el che a mio chonsiglio nollo darei, perche bisogna lo faca finire, e meteremoci del nostro onore, a fillo voi vi farebe troppo tempo. Ora schrivendovi lui, fate quello vi pare; a me pare chosi, e chosi vi chonforto' (I have your letter, with the one for Metello, which I have sent on. I was not able to see him, things being as they are, but I was with Frizzi. He tells me Metello wants the Christ which you had begun and is in the house; my advice is not to give it to him, as you would have to finish it and we would be on our honour to do so, and it would take you too much time. When he writes to you, do what you think best; but that is my opinion and advice). On 12 January 1522 Michelangelo agreed to present the figure to Vari. It is recorded in Vari's possession by Aldovrandi (*Delle statue antiche*, 1556, p. 247): 'In una corticella overo orticello, vedesi un Christo ignudo con la Croce al lato destro non fornito per rispetto d'una vena che si scoperse nel marmo della faccia, opera di Michel Angelo: & lo donò a M. Metello, & l'altro simile a questo, che hora è nella minerva lo fece fare a sue spese M. Metello a detto Michel Angelo' (In a small court or garden there is a nude Christ, with the Cross on his right; it was not finished on account of a vein which appeared

on the face. It is a work of Michelangelo's, and he gave it to Master Metello; the other one, similar to this, which today is in the Minerva, was commissioned by him from Michelangelo). A drawing made in preparation for the first version of the figure is in the Brinsley Ford collection, London. The figure in S. Maria sopra Minerva attained exceptional popularity, and in 1546 Primaticcio was instructed by Francis I of France to obtain a cast. The figure as it stands is substantially by Michelangelo. The cross and instruments of the Passion seem to have been executed by a studio hand, and the hair is comparatively weakly carved. Special admiration was expressed by Sebastiano del Piombo for the carving of the knees. The fact that the figure is relatively ineffective is due not to extensive studio intervention, but to the fact that it is a replica of a lost work.

### Plates 24–33: THE MEDICI CHAPEL

S. Lorenzo, Florence

#### General

Following the deaths of Giuliano de' Medici, Duc de Nemours, brother of Leo X, in 1516 and of the Pope's nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, in 1519, it was decided to construct, on the north side of the church of S. Lorenzo, a funerary chapel corresponding to the Sagrestia Vecchia of Brunelleschi in the south transept of the church. The initiative in this project seems to have been taken by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. It has been claimed (Fabriczy, Tolnay) that the lower part of the structure of the New Sacristy was built under the supervision of Brunelleschi and is contemporary with the north transept of the church. The case against this view is stated by Wilde ('Michelangelo's Designs for the Medici Tombs', in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xviii, 1955, pp. 54–66), and rests (i) on a drawing of S. Lorenzo by Leonardo da Vinci in the Institut de France, datable to the year 1502, which shows the north transept of the church without the sacristy, (ii) on structural analysis of the building, and (iii) on the evidence of Cambi and Vasari that the plan envisaged the creation of a new and not the completion of an old structure. Though there is no evidence of Michelangelo's connection with the project before November 1520, it is possible that he assumed control of it before March of this year. Conversely it has been argued (Ackerman) that 'the style of the interior shows that Michelangelo's active intervention as an architect began only at the pendentive level.' In the first case the building would have been planned from the beginning in relation to the tombs in the interior. In the second a pre-existing scheme would have been modified to accommodate the tombs.

#### Interior Architecture

The treatment of the interior depends from that of the Sagrestia Vecchia of Brunelleschi. The introduction of an intermediate zone between the lower register and the lunettes recalls the sacristy of S. Spirito of Giuliano da San Gallo. The scheme deviates from tradition, first in the use of strips of pietra serena on the inner sides of the central pilasters to provide a firm frame for the sepulchral monuments, and second in the original form of the windows in the lunettes. The architecture of the lower

register introduces one major innovation, in the juxtaposition of a system of marble wall decoration with the pietra serena articulation. The doors surmounted by tabernacles which fill the outer extremities of all four walls appear to have been suggested by the doors surmounted by tabernacles on the altar wall of the Sagrestia Vecchia, where, however, the forms of the door-frames and tabernacles are altogether different. Two drawings in the Archivio Buonarroti offer evidence (Tolnay) that at one point the treatment of the wall surfaces and of the altar bay was to have been more closely related to the Sagrestia Vecchia than it eventually became. There is proof that the cupola was painted by Giovanni da Udine (1532-3), but that this decoration was subsequently eliminated (1556). It has also been argued (Popp, Tolnay, Panofsky) that the chapel was to include frescoes of the Resurrection, Judith and Moses and the Brazen Serpent. The evidence for this is ambiguous. A letter of 17 July 1533 from Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo reveals, however, that it was intended to decorate the small cupola in the interior of the lantern with a fresco. The form of the dome (Wilde) depends from that of the Pantheon.

#### Medici Tombs

When Michelangelo assumed control of the project for the tombs, the form of the tombs, and therefore of the interior architecture of the chapel, was still undetermined. The principal written evidence for this phase in the development of the chapel is provided by three letters. The first of these, written by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici to Michelangelo on 28 November 1520, reads as follows: 'Respondemo brevemente... in vero ne piace el modo havete pensato de mittere le IIII sepulture in mezo della capella; et quando li cassoni delle sepulture possino venire al mancho III braccie longhi, credemo torneranno bene, faciendo poi li altri ornamenti che accompagnino il tutto in quel modo saprete pensare che stia bene. Ma in questo mi nasce una difficolta, che non so pensare, come in IIII braccie di spaccio, designato per voi di largeza per ogni verso, possino capere dicte sepulture con li ornamenti et poi avanzare octo braccie per ogni verso della capella: pure ne siamo per remittere ad quello pensare che stia bene' (Indeed, I like the way in which you have thought of putting the four tombs in the middle of the Chapel. And if the coffers of the tombs can be at least 3 braccia long, we think they will turn out well; the other accompanying decoration can be made in whatever way you think good. But a difficulty arises for me here: I cannot think how the tombs and their decoration will fit in the space of 4 braccia, which you have laid down as the breadth of each side, and then leave 8 braccia on each side of the Chapel. However, we will agree with whatever you think good). The project for a free-standing central tomb is mentioned again in a letter of 14 December 1520 from Domenico Buoninsegni to Michelangelo: 'Io d' parlato con el Cardinale del disegno che voi facievi circa el mettere le sepulture in mezzo la cappella, c'assai li piacie, ma dubita non si occupi lo spazio di tal cappella che non li pare che quattro braccia di larghezza basti. Agli detto che quando fussino braccia sei che avanzarebbe braccia sette per banda d'andare all'intorno. Diciemi che vi priega li mandate un poco di schizzo d'una sola di quelle quattro faccie fatto in el modo che disegneresti che le fussino mettendole

in mezzo; e così dicie anche o vogliatele mettere in el mezzo in el modo che dite o pure nelle faccie della cappella, che re ne rapporterà a voi...?' (I talked with the Cardinal about the plan you made for putting the tombs in the middle of the Chapel. He likes it very much, but he fears it may fill the space of the Chapel, and does not think 4 braccia is wide enough. I said that, even if it was 6 braccia, there would be 7 braccia left on each side round it. He told me to beg you to send him a small sketch of just one of the faces, done according to your plan of putting them in the middle. He also says that, whether you want to put them in the middle, as you say, or on the walls of the Chapel, he leaves it to you...). This enquiry was repeated on 17 December, and on 28 December 1520 Buoninsegni wrote again: 'd' avuto el disegno della faccia della sepultura, el quale disegno subito portai al Cardinale, e li detti la vostra lettera e la lesse tutta, e tutto li piace. Ma dubita che quello spazio dintorno non resti meschino. E per questo aveva pensato se in tutta la macchina della sepultura fussi da fare in el mezzo uno arco che traforassi, che verrebbe a essere in ogni faccia uno arco, e intersecherebboni li anditi di questi archi in el mezzo e passerebboni sotto; e in detto mezzo disegnava che in terra fussi la sepultura sua, e le altre sepulture li pare deveverebbono stare alte sopra li detti archi' (I have received the drawing of the face of the tomb, and took it at once to the Cardinal; I gave him your letter and he read it all, and is altogether pleased. But he fears the space around the tomb would be mean. For this reason he has been wondering whether an arch could be made, piercing the whole structure of the tomb; there would be an arch in each face, and the passages of these arches would cross in the middle, so that one could pass underneath it. He planned that his own tomb would be on the ground in the middle, and he thinks the other tombs should stand high above the arches). From these letters we learn (i) that Michelangelo in November 1520 was engaged on two alternative projects, one for a central tomb with four faces and the other for four wall monuments, (ii) that the Cardinal required the measurements of the proposed central tomb to be enlarged, (iii) that he was then dissatisfied with the relation of the free-standing tomb to the area in which it stood, and (iv) that for this reason he proposed a pierced central tomb in the form of a double arch.

The visual evidence for these projects is supplied by a number of drawings in the British Museum, London, the Archivio Buonarroti, Florence, and the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden, which have been frequently studied with contrary results and are best analysed by Wilde. The projects include:

(A) Designs for a free-standing monument, contained on a sheet in the British Museum (1859-6-25-545, Wilde No. 25r.). These comprise: (i) An octagon with alternate long and short sides, in which the long sides contain pairs of coupled columns with rectangular recesses between surmounted by segmental pediments and the short sides contain niches surmounted by triangular pediments. On the long sides above the entablature is an attic with coupled pilasters corresponding with the coupled columns beneath. A second version of this scheme appears on a drawing in the Casa Buonarroti (Frey, No. 267b). (ii) A structure square on plan, with, in the centre of the lower story, a sarcophagus rising from a projection of the lower plinth to a

cornice surmounted by a segmental pediment. The sarcophagus rests on two claw feet, and the bottom is curved outwards with figures of mourners seated beside it. The upper register is framed by pairs of coupled pilasters with, between them, oblong panels with splayed sides. (iii) A structure square on plan with the sarcophagus on a step, the lid in the form of inverted consoles or volutes. In the upper register are three bays separated by pilasters, those at the sides in the form of narrow round-headed niches and that in the centre in the form of a square panel with a circular panel beneath. A simplified version of this scheme appears in a drawing in the Casa Buonarroti (Frey, No. 125a). (iv) A structure square on plan with in the centre a round-headed niche cutting into the pedestal of the upper story and containing the sarcophagus. A second drawing for this project is in the Casa Buonarroti (Frey, No. 267b). A drawing for a variant of this scheme is in the Casa Buonarroti (Frey, No. 267c), and this in turn appears to have formed the basis of a scale drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden. It is established by Wilde that project (ii) provided for a length of 4 ells (2.40 m.), and that the mourning figures were therefore roughly of the size of the Valori Apollo. In (iv) and the scale drawing at Dresden the length of the side of the structure has, in compliance with the Cardinal's request, been increased to 5  $\frac{3}{5}$  ells. The Dresden drawing seems in turn to have inspired the Cardinal's proposal for a pierced tomb. The floor space in the Chapel for which these projects were designed is 19  $\frac{1}{2}$  ells square. (B) A number of early designs for wall monuments, produced concurrently with or prior to the designs enumerated in A. These comprise three studies in the Casa Buonarroti (Frey, No. 70 top left, Frey, No. 70 bottom left, Frey, No. 125a centre). The second of these alone is of importance, in that it shows a scheme related to A (ii) with reclining figures on the sarcophagus.

(C) Designs for double wall monuments, apparently produced early in 1521 after the rejection of the free-standing tomb, with the intention of placing two pairs of tombs on the two lateral walls of the Chapel. These are contained on two sides of a sheet in the British Museum (1859-5-14-822, Wilde, Nos. 26r., 26v.), and comprise: (i) A wall monument with a sarcophagus supported on consoles returned against the piers, and, above, an aedicule crowned by a pediment. Beneath the sarcophagus is a River God, and on the lid is a second reclining figure. (ii) A wall monument with a similar sarcophagus supported on feet with a reclining figure on the lid. Above the sarcophagus is a square panelled podium with two standing mourners, and above this is a tablet with a segmental pediment. Projects (i) and (ii) represent variants of a single scheme, and are joined by a central pilaster with a large standing figure in front of it. (iii) A wall monument similar to (ii) with the lid of the sarcophagus in the form of two reversed halves of a segmental pediment, and, above, a tablet superimposed on a square panelled pedestal. (iv) Two adjacent monuments in which the sarcophagi have lids in the form of triangular pediments. (iii) is interpreted by Wilde as a scheme for placing the four tombs in front of the side sections of the lateral walls of the Chapel, which was presumably abandoned on account of the symmetry of the entrances, and (i) and (iv) represent a somewhat later scheme for

placing the pairs of tombs in the centre of each wall. The figure on the sarcophagus lid in (ii) is related to the tombs as executed. (D) Design for a single wall monument, contained on a sheet in the British Museum (1859-5-14-823, Wilde, No. 27r). This drawing shows a wall monument, the body of which is divided vertically into three parts. The sarcophagus rests on a plinth or step, to right and left of which are reclining figures. The lid of the sarcophagus is formed by two scrolls or volutes with an upright shell between them. On both volutes there are reclining figures. At the sides of the pedestal are rectangular recesses, of which that on the left is filled with a seated figure. The central section of the upper story is framed by coupled pilasters with square and oblong panels between them, and at the sides are tabernacles with segmental pediments and oblong or oval panels above. In the attic is a trophy with, at the sides, swags with crouching figures in relief beneath. It is established by Wilde that this study is for the final plan of the tombs as executed, and that the ratio of width to height is virtually the same as in the completed monuments. In the completed monuments, however, the lower and main stories were raised at the expense of the attic, the side sections were widened at the expense of that in the centre, the central sections of the main and lower registers were brought forward, the square central panel was replaced by a rectangular recess, the panels over the lateral tabernacles were eliminated, the rectangular recesses beside the sarcophagus were replaced by rectangular panels, the cornice of the attic was removed, the forms of the thrones at the top were changed, and the decoration of the sarcophagus and attic was simplified. The trophies projected in this drawing were executed in part by Silvio Cosini, and were not used in the monuments; they are now in the corridor leading to the Chapel. The shells on the sarcophagi were abandoned only in the summer of 1524. Three related drawings of secondary importance are in the Casa Buonarroti.

(E) Design for a double wall monument intended for the tombs of the Magnifici on the wall facing the altar, contained on two sides of a sheet in the British Museum (1859-6-25-543, Wilde, Nos. 28r, 28v). 28r shows the two sarcophagi on a high step, with the centre of that on the left beneath the centre of the niche above, and the outer ends of the sarcophagi projecting beyond the edge of the tomb. Above the podium is a pedestal story supporting the main order, which has a tall recessed central niche with a segmental pediment. In the central niche is a Madonna and in the outer niches are standing figures. Below the central niche, against the central rectangle of the podium, is a figure of Fame, with, at the sides, swags and labels. In 28v the latter are replaced by figures in square recesses. A drawing in the Louvre (Frey, No. 90) contains a more elaborate version of 28r, and shows two figures on the sarcophagi. The two columns shown beside the central niche in 28v appear to have been increased to four in the final design. The plain base now installed on this wall of the Chapel is that planned by Michelangelo; the remains of the Magnifici were interred beneath it in 1559. It was intended either that the figures of SS. Cosmas and Damian should be set above the Virgin and Child in niches on the level of those above the lateral doors (Wilde), or that they should be set on the level of the Virgin and Child and sur-

mounted by niches with smaller standing figures. Drawings show that the figures of the Saints have been reversed, and were originally designed to look outwards towards the lateral monuments.

#### Sequence of Work

It is stated by Cambi that the chapel was under construction in March 1520. This is confirmed by an *Atto Capitolare* of 1 March 1520 quoted by Moreni ('*muraglia ordinata di fare dal Reverendissimo Cardinale della nuova Sagrestia*'). According to Tolnay, Michelangelo would have been approached by Pope Leo X for the first time on 6 September 1520 in connection with the Chapel, and agreed to take charge of it between 27 October and 6 November of this year. But there are good reasons for supposing (Wilde) that Michelangelo may from the first have been responsible for the whole project. By 28 December 1520 a small model by Michelangelo for the interior of the building was complete. It has been inferred (Tolnay) that the final form of the tombs must have been decided upon by 14 December 1520 when work on the *pietra serena* articulation of the lowest zone of the interior was under way. By 20 April 1521 work in the interior had been completed up to the *pietra serena* architrave. On 10 April 1521 Michelangelo visited Carrara, and there (April 22 and 23) signed two contracts with stone cutters providing (i) for the delivery within eighteen months of certain marbles 'et spetialmente fare dell'i dicti marmi figure tre, et più se più potranno' (and, in particular, for making three figures from these blocks of marble, and more, if possible), and (ii) for the delivery within twelve months of certain marbles 'et spetialmente fare dell'i dicti marmi una figura di Nostra Donna a sedere secondo è disegnata, et più altre figure secondo dicte misure, se più potranno' (and, in particular, for making from these blocks of marble a figure of Our Lady, sitting according to the design, and more figures of this size, if possible). By the time of these contracts the form of the tombs of the Capitani and of the two Magnifici must have been agreed upon.

The first blocks destined for the figure sculptures were shipped from Carrara to Florence in June 1521. Further correspondence relating to the extraction of marble continues through 1522 and 1523. The bulk of the marble had been quarried and shipped by March 1524. On 17 March 1524 Topolino, Michelangelo's representative at Carrara, writes to the sculptor (Tolnay): '*Avisovi come e marmi sono al fine, salvo che due coperchi che non sono ancora cavati, ma credo che inanzi Pascua saranno cavati: si che in breve tempo sarebbe ogni cosa finita. E marmi sono tutti alla marina*' (The marbles are finished, except for two lids which are not yet quarried, but I think they will be before Easter; so everything should be finished soon. The marbles are all at the coast). The reference here is to the covers or lids of the two sarcophagi. A week later (25 March 1524) it was reported from Carrara that the marble destined for one of the lids was damaged (Tolnay: '*Sapiate che lo coperchio è guasto, che avevano cavato: non ci manca se non e due casoni. La figura è trovata, e dò cominciato a cavare de' marmi de le porte e de' tabernacoli, e n'è già abozati parechi pezi*' (The lid they had quarried is damaged; only two coffers are missing. The figure has been found, and I have started quarrying marble for the

doors and tabernacles, and have already blocked out some pieces)). Towards the end of April marble for the lids had still not been found (21 April 1524: '*Ancora non s'è potuto cavare e dua coperchi e una figura che vanno a piè de' detti coperchi. Ma io credo, se piace a Dio, che in quindici dì, se nonne accade rotture o altre tristizie saranno cavate*') (It has still not been possible to quarry two of the lids and a figure to go at the bottom of these lids. But I think, if God wills, they will have been quarried in a fortnight, if no breakages or other accidents occur). Further references to marble for the sarcophagus lids occur in letters of 21 June 1524 and 13 August 1524 ('*Bisogna che voi mandiate a dirmi come volete io abozzi quelli due coperchi. . . . Se voi gli volete sanza quello rilievo, ci sono d'abozare in un tratto, che sono de' marmi medesimi de' cassoni*') (You must let me know how you want me to block out the two lids. . . . If you want them without the relief, there are some that could be blocked out at once, of the same marble as the coffers). Later in the month (24 August 1524) Topolino was involved in a search for marble for the nude figures ('*io spero che noi àremo in pochi di marmi per le figure nude*'). The *Ricordi* of 1524 (Milanesi, pp. 592-5) contain a number of payments for 'e' modegli delle figure di San Lorenzo'. Meanwhile Michelangelo in Florence had begun work on the tombs. On 21 April 1524 Topolino learned '*che voi avete cominciato a lavorare e che vi manca quattro pezzi di marmo*' (You have begun to work, and four pieces of marble are missing), and by 7 June 1524 the architecture of one tomb was already far advanced; this can be inferred from a letter of Fattucci to Michelangelo, in which the former refers to a plan for putting the tombs of Leo X and Clement VII in place of the two tombs of the Capitani '*ma per averne quasi fatta di quadro una, non ci è ordine*'. It has been suggested (Popp) that one of the allegories, the Aurora (see below) was begun in 1521. The documents, however, support the conclusion (Tolnay) that none of the allegories was begun before the late summer of 1524. That difficulty was experienced in procuring marble for these figures is suggested by a *Ricordo* of Michelangelo of 27 October 1524 (Milanesi, p. 597) referring to the transport of a block of marble from the workshop in the Via Mozza to the sacristy '*che mi serve per una figura di quelle che vanno in su cassoni delle sepulture dette che io fo*' (which will do for one of the figures to go on the tomb-chests I am making). The marble for four figures was extracted between 10 August 1524 ('*due figure grosse et due piccole*') and 24 October of this year. For further knowledge of the progress of the sculptures we are dependent on letters passing between Florence and Rome. On 14 October 1525 Fattucci enquired about the sculptures in the following terms (Frey, pp. 260-2): '*Datemi aviso, come va l'opera, et se avete messo mano ad altre figure che a quelle quattro, et quando cominciate e fumi*' (Tell me how the work is going, whether you have put hand to any figures other than those four, and when you are going to begin the river-gods). Ten days later (24 October 1525) Michelangelo replied: '*Alla vostra ultima, le quattro figure conciate non sono ancora finite, e évvi da fare ancora assai. Le quattro altre per Fiumi non sono cominciate, perchè non ci sono e' marmi: e pure ci sono venuti*' (In reply to your letter, the four figures which have been begun are not yet finished, and there is still

much to do on them. The four others of river-gods have not been begun, because the marble for them was not here; however, it has come now). On 10 March 1526 Michelangelo's representative in Rome, Leonardo Sellajo, reported that he had reassured the Pope about the progress of the work (Frey, pp. 276-8): 'E avevi fatti e modegli delle 8 fighure, che non si gettono in forma; . . . E dissigli, chome m'avevi detto e promesso, per infino a settenbre le 8 fighure sarebbono alla perfezione, che le 4 da finir le presto, se non v'era dato fastidio di nuove materie di disengni o modegli: . . . Fecilo ridere, che mi disse, gli era suto detto, era rotto una delle 4 fighure, e per quello stavi adirato: Risposi, non era vero, ma per levare dintorno e cicaloni, che vorebbono vedere, voi medesimo alle volte dicevi simile cose per parere adirato: che tanto rise. . . .' (And you had done the models for the eight figures which are not being cast. . . . And I told him that you had told me and promised that the eight figures would be finished by September, and four of them soon, but for trouble about new material, designs and models. . . . I made him laugh when he said to me that he had been told that one of the four figures had been broken and you were angry about it. I replied that it was not true, but that you sometimes said things like this so as to seem angry and get rid of gossips who wanted to see the work). In the summer (17 June 1526, Milanesi, p. 453, misdated) Michelangelo sent a report to Fattucci: 'Di questa settimana che viene, farò coprire le figure di Sagrestia che vi sono bozzate, perchè io voglio lasciare la Sagrestia libera a questi scarpellini de' marmi, perchè io voglio che comincino a murare l'altra sepoltura a riscontro di quella che è murata; che è squadrata tutta, e credevo io che con gente assai la si facesse in due o in tre mesi: non me ne intendo. . . . Io lavoro el più che io posso, e in fra quindici dì farò cominciare l'altro Capitano: poi mi resterà di cose d'importanza solo e' quattro Fiumi. Le quattro figure in su cassoni, le quattro figure in terra che sono e' Fiumi, e due Capitani e la Nostra Donna che va nella sepoltura di testa, sono le figure che io vorrei fare di mia mano: e di queste n'è cominciate sei' (Next week I shall cover up those figures for the Sacristy which have been blocked out, because I want to give the marble-cutters the run of it. For I want to start building the second tomb, opposite the one that has already been built. It has all been squared out, and I thought that, with a large number of workmen, I should do it in two or three months; I am not sure about it. . . . I am working as hard as I can, and in a fortnight will begin the second Capitano; then the only things of importance left for me to do will be the four river-gods. The figures I intend to do with my own hand are: the four figures on the coffers, the four river-gods on the ground, the two Capitani, and the Madonna to go on the end tomb; and I have begun six of these). The interpretation of these letters is of fundamental importance in establishing the sequence of the sculptures; it is a reasonable inference that the four figures referred to in the correspondence of March 1526 as virtually complete included one of the two statues of the Capitani and two of the four Allegories (see below), and that the six figures mentioned in the later letter included two further Allegories. The Pope meanwhile had become restive at the slow rate of progress on the Chapel, and on 12 September 1526 Michelangelo was urged from Rome

to proceed with the assembly of the second tomb. At the beginning of May 1527 there occurred the Sack of Rome, and at the end of the same month a republican regime was installed in Florence. In August 1528 Michelangelo received the commission for a group outside the Palazzo della Signoria, and thereafter he was involved with the fortifications of the city. On 21 September 1529 he fled from Florence, returning on 20 November. In August 1530 the city capitulated to Clement VII, and work on the Medici Chapel was resumed. A letter of 19 November 1530 (Gaye, ii, p. 221) records the Pope's satisfaction at the continuance of work on the statues. On 16 June 1531 Sebastiano del Piombo recorded the substance of an interview with the Pope: 'Et se stupì quando el lesse la vostra littera in mia presentia, de le figure ditte che son finite, et disse che mai fu el mazor lavorante de' vui quando volete: tutto l'opposito delle cichale!' (He was astonished when he read in my presence your letter about the figures, which you say are finished; and he said that there is no better worker than you when you feel like it – quite the opposite of what the gossips say). Two months later (19 August 1531) Sebastiano del Piombo reported again: 'Et (quando) li mostrerò la post (scripta) vostra, che havete finita la seconda figura et sete (entrato) nela terza, el jubilarà tucto, ma non ge la voglio mostrare in sino la recevuta de l'altra' (When I show him your postscript, saying that you have finished the second figure and begun the third, he will be overjoyed; but I do not want to show it to him until the other has come). At this time Michelangelo was working under great pressure, as is recorded in a letter of Giovanbattista di Paolo Mini to Bartolomeo Valori of 29 September 1531 (Gaye, ii, pp. 228-30): 'E questo siè che michelagnolo, suo iscultore, è più mesi nolavevo veduto, respetto alesere suto in chasa per paura dela peste, e dattre settimane in qua è venuto dua volte la sera per un pocho di pasatempo a trovarmi a chasa chol bugiardino e chon antonio mini, mio nipotte e suo diciepolle; dopo molti ragionamenti delarte rimasi dandare a vedere le dua femine, chosì fece altro dì, e infati sono cosa di grande maraviglia, e so che V.S. vide la prima, che figura per la notte cho la luna in capo el cielo notturno; apresso questa sichonda la pasa per tutti e chonti di beleza, chosa mirabilissima; e di presente finiva uno di que' vecchi cheio non credo si posa vedere meglio' (I had not seen Michelangelo, his sculptor, for some months, as I had stayed at home through fear of the plague. During the last three weeks he has twice come in the evening to visit me at home for a little relaxation, with Bugiardini and Antonio Mini, my nephew and a pupil of his. After much discussion of art, I had still not seen the two female figures, but I did so the other day. They are indeed marvellous. I know that you saw the first, the figure of Night, with the moon on its head and the owl; the second surpasses it in beauty in every respect, and is a marvellous thing. At present he has been finishing one of the old men; I do not think one could see anything better). The letter reports on Michelangelo's physical condition, and states that he is eating little, sleeping badly, and suffering from headaches and vertigo, and will not live unless some steps are taken about his health. It recommends first that Michelangelo should be relieved of his obligations on the Julius monument, and secondly that he should be prevented from working in winter

in the sacristy: 'potrebbe lavorare nel altra istanzetta e finire quella nostra donna, tanto belissima cosa, e fare la statua de la felicie memoria del duca Lorenzo en questo verno. In ditta sagrestia si potrebe murare elavoro del quadro de le sepolture, e cominciare a metervi su le fighure finite e anche la mezate; si potrebe poi finire la su, e a questo modo si salverebbe luomo e tirebe inanzi e labore' (This winter he could work in the other small room, and finish the Madonna, a most beautiful work, and do the memorial statue of Duke Lorenzo. In the Sacristy the masonry of the tombs could be built, and they could start putting up the finished statues, and even the half-finished ones, to be finished later up there. In this way the man would be kept safe and the work pushed on). From this point on work in the Chapel was beset by interruptions. In April 1532 Michelangelo visited Rome, thereafter returning to Florence, and in August went to Rome once more, staying there till the summer of 1533. In June 1533 he returned to Florence for four months, from October 1533 to May 1534 he was again in Rome, and in the summer of 1534 he returned briefly to Florence, which he left for the last time in September of the same year. The death of the Pope on 25 September 1534 brought work in the Chapel to a temporary close. During this last phase, at the Pope's instigation, extensive use was made of assistants, notably Tribolo, Raffaello da Montelupo and Montorsoli. Vasari describes how the Pope (who had seen Tribolo's models for the prophets for the niches of the Holy House at Loreto) 'deliberò che tutti, senza perdere tempo, tornassino a Firenze per dar fine, sotto la disciplina di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, a tutte quelle figure che mancavano alla sagrestia e libreria di San Lorenzo, ed a tutto il lavoro, secondo i modelli e con l'aiuto di Michelagnolo, quanto più presto; acciò, finita la sagrestia, tutti potessero, mediante l'acquisto fatto sotto la disciplina di tant'uomo, finir similmente la facciata di San Lorenzo. E perchè a ciò fare punto non si tardasse, rimandò il papa Michelagnolo a Firenze, e con esso lui Fra Giovanni Agnolo de' Servi, il quale aveva lavorato alcune cose in Belvedere, acciò gli aiutasse a traforar i marmi, e facesse alcune statue, secondo che gli ordinasse Michelagnolo; il quale gli diede a far un San Cosimo, che insieme con un San Damiano allegato al Montelupo doveva mettere in mezzo la Madonna. Date a far queste, volle Michelagnolo che il Tribolo facesse due statue nude, che avevano a metter in mezzo quella del duca Giuliano che già aveva fatta egli; l'una figurata per la Terra coronata di cipresso, che dolente ed a capo chino piangesse con le braccia aperte la perdita del duca Giuliano; e l'altra per lo Cielo, che con le braccia elevate, tutto ridente e festoso, mostrasse esser allegro dell'ornamento e splendore che gli recava l'anima e lo spirito di quel signore' (decided that they should all return without losing time to Florence, in order to finish under the direction of Michelangelo Buonarroti all the figures needed for the Sacristy and Library of S. Lorenzo, and all the rest of the work, after Michelangelo's models and with his help, as quickly as possible; this was done so that, when they had finished the Sacristy, they might all be able, through the new skill they had acquired under the direction of so great a man, to finish the façade of S. Lorenzo also. To avoid any delay, the Pope sent Michelangelo back to Florence, and with him Fra Giovanni Angelo de' Servi, who had worked

some things in the Belvedere, to help him carve the marbles and to make some statues, according to Michelangelo's instructions; and Michelangelo had him make a St. Cosmas which, with a St. Damian allotted to Montelupo, was to stand at the side of the Madonna. When these commissions had been given, Michelangelo wished Tribolo to make two nude statues to stand on each side of that of Duke Giuliano, which he himself had already made; one of them was to represent Earth crowned with cypress, mourning and lamenting with bowed head and outstretched arms the loss of Duke Giuliano, and the other was to represent Heaven, with arms raised, smiling and joyful, showing that she rejoiced at the adornment and splendour which the soul and spirit of that lord were bringing her). According to Vasari, ill-health overtook Tribolo, but 'così indisposto, fece di terra il modello grande della statua della Terra; e finito, cominciò a lavorare il marmo con tanta diligenza e sollecitudine, che già si vedeva scoperta tutta dalla banda dinanzi la statua; quando la fortuna, che a' bei principi sempre volentieri contrasta, con la morte di Clemente, allora che meno si temeva, troncò l'animo a tanti eccellenti uomini che speravano sotto Michelagnolo con utilità grandissime acquistarsi nome immortale e perpetua fama' (Though he was unwell, he made a large clay model for the statue of Earth; and when he had finished it, he began working it in marble with such diligence and care, that the statue could be seen already cut in front. But then Fortune, always apt to oppose good beginnings, through the death of Clement when it seemed least likely, cut short the hopes of all those excellent masters who had hoped to acquire under Michelangelo great profit, undying renown and everlasting fame). Tribolo received his instructions to proceed to Florence on 26 July 1533, and arrived there in August. A letter of Michelangelo of 15 October 1533 (Milanesi, p. 470) refers to small models for Tribolo's two figures. Raffaello da Montelupo's St. Damian was carved from a large-scale model by Michelangelo between August 1533 and September 1534. It has been suggested (Popp) that Michelangelo's small model for the St. Cosmas was made in Rome in 1532-33. By 17 July 1533 Montorsoli was working, in Michelangelo's studio, on a large model for this statue, the head and arms of which were modelled by Michelangelo. Work on this was broken off at the Pope's death, and it was completed only in 1536-37. A letter of Sebastiano del Piombo of 25 July 1533 refers to rumours in Rome that Michelangelo had entrusted Montorsoli with the completion of the statue of Giuliano de' Medici, and a further letter of 16 August 1533 from the same correspondent describes Montorsoli as 'soprastante a la sepoltura doppia de la sacrestia', that is the double tomb of the Magnifici. Silvio Cosini was paid, apparently for the frieze of masks, on 10 August 1532. Before he left for Rome in September 1534, Michelangelo installed the statues of the Capitani in the niches destined for them, leaving the Allegories on the Chapel floor. The Chapel was, however, visited by Charles V on 4 May 1536. On the death of Pope Clement VII Tribolo and Raffaello da Montelupo were diverted by Alessandro de' Medici to other work. After the murder of Alessandro de' Medici (5 January 1537) it was decided by his successor, Cosimo I, that work in the Chapel should be completed and that the dead Duke and Lorenzo de' Medici should

be interred in the same sarcophagus. A number of unsuccessful attempts were made to induce Michelangelo to return to Florence. The Allegories were placed on the sarcophagi in 1546. On 3 June 1559 the bodies of the two Magnifici were installed in the base of the unfinished monument on the entrance wall, and at the same time the floor and entrance wall was systematised by Vasari.

The order in which the sculptures in the Medici Chapel were executed cannot be established with any confidence, since some of the statues were worked on concurrently and all of them save the Giuliano de' Medici were left incomplete. In April 1524 Michelangelo seems to have started work on the carving of the Allegories. The block brought from the Via Mozza in October 1524, which is mentioned in connection with the Allegories, was perhaps used for the Day, which is somewhat shorter than the three other figures, the blocks for which were cut to Michelangelo's specifications at Carrara. For reasons given below this figure and the Night must precede the corresponding Allegories on the Lorenzo de' Medici tomb; a contrary case is argued by Wölfflin, Popp and Tolnay. The Dawn was presumably completed or in course of execution by September 1531, when Giovanbattista di Paolo Mini saw 'le dua femine'. The Evening seems to have been begun in this year or after. A letter of June 1526 refers to the imminent inception of 'l'altro Capitano', and one of the two figures of the Capitani must have been far advanced by this time. It is likely that the earlier figure was the Giuliano de' Medici. It has been observed that the dolphin motif which appears above the tabernacles of the Lorenzo de' Medici monument is omitted from that of Giuliano, and that there may have been an interval between the execution of architectural sections of the two tombs. The evidence for this is contradictory; on the one hand the unfinished patere at the ends of the Lorenzo tomb (related to those in the tabernacles over the doorways) are omitted in the Giuliano monument, while on the other the attic of the Giuliano monument (notably the panels with military trophies and oil jars) is the more richly executed of the two.

**GUILIANO DE' MEDICI, DUC DE NEMOURS.** H. 173 cm. Like the companion figure of Lorenzo de' Medici, the statue of Giuliano de' Medici (d. 1516) is described by Niccolò Martelli (see below) as an idealised likeness. It is not, however, a 'porträtlöse Statue' (Borinski), and its dissimilarity from the authenticated portraits of Giuliano de' Medici is exaggerated both by this writer and Tolnay. The head differs from the bearded portraits by Raphael (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) of about 1515 and in a dated medal of this year (for these see O. Fischel, 'Porträts des Giuliano de' Medici, Herzogs von Nemours', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxviii, 1907, pp. 117-30), but is in general agreement with two beardless medals of 1513. A posthumous description of Giuliano in the chronicles of Cerretani (1494-1519) reads as follows: 'Grande, bianco, di collo lungo, appiccato innanzi, le braccia lunghe, gli occhi azzurri, grave non solo nell'andare ma nel parlare, benigno, umano, piacevole, gentile, ingegnoso, bonario, amicabile, di debole complessione, misericordioso e liberalissimo' (Tall, pale, long-necked, stooping, with long arms and

blue eyes, serious both in gait and speech, kindly, humane, affable, courteous, witty, mild, amiable, of a weak constitution, compassionate, and most liberal). The figure is shown in classical armour, holding the baton of Captain of the Church, in a pose which has been related (Steinmann, Panofsky, Hartt) to a Byzantine relief of St. George on St. Mark's in Venice. The coins held in the left hand have been interpreted alternatively as an emblem of magnanimity or as the oboloi of departed souls. The imagery of this figure is apparently connected with the ceremony of 1513 (for which see M. A. Altieri, *Giuliano de' Medici eletto cittadino Romano ovvero il Natale di Roma nel 1515*, ed. Pasqualucci, Rome, 1881) in which Giuliano de' Medici, and in absentia Lorenzo, were invested with the privileges of Roman citizenship. On this occasion the stage was decorated with the inscription KARITAS PUBLICA S.P.Q.R.E., and Giuliano de' Medici was presented with a privilegio with a gold seal having on one side the letters S.P.Q.R. 'e dall'altro lato una Magnifica figura che mostrava sedersi sopra molte spoglie militari'. A letter of Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo of 25 July 1533 (Milanesi, *Corr.*, p. 108) quoted above refers to rumours current in Rome that at that time Montorsoli was in course of finishing the statue. The sense of Sebastiano del Piombo's letter is that rumours of Montorsoli's intervention in the statue had been denied. It is assumed by Tolnay that the hands, knees and face are by Michelangelo but that the surface was polished by Montorsoli who was also responsible for certain details of the cuirass and mask. Montorsoli's parts of the Sannazaro monument in S. Maria del Parto in Naples do not substantiate this view. The statue is regarded as an autograph work of Michelangelo by Kriegbaum. Like the companion figure of Lorenzo de' Medici, it was placed in its niche before September 1534.

**LORENZO DE' MEDICI, DUKE OF URBINO.** H. 178 cm. The relationship of the head to the portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici (cf. a portrait in the Uffizi ascribed to Bronzino reproduced by Steinmann) is less close than with the companion figure. On Lorenzo's antipathy for his uncle Giuliano, whom he succeeded as Captain of the Church in 1516, see G. Fatini (*Giuliano de' Medici duca di Nemours, Poesie*, Florence, 1939). Like Giuliano de' Medici, Lorenzo is dressed in classical armour. The coin box under the left arm must have the same significance as the coins in the left hand of the corresponding figure. Vasari records a tradition that this and the Giuliano statue were polished and modified by Montorsoli. The Lorenzo de' Medici is less highly worked than the companion figure. The back of the niche was excavated to accommodate the figure when it was installed before September 1534. It is assumed by Tolnay that details of the armour and helmet and the bat's head on the coin box were carved by Montorsoli. The inference has frequently been drawn (Tolnay, Panofsky and others) that the figures of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici represent the Active and the Contemplative Life. The representation of Giuliano de' Medici in an active and Lorenzo de' Medici in a contemplative pose would, however, represent an inversion of their historical roles, and it has been suggested (Grimm) that the two statues have been wrongly identified. This explanation is untenable, and it is likely that the secondary interpretation of the figures as the

Active and the Contemplative Life arises from a misreading of their imagery.

**NIGHT.** L. 194 cm. The area above the mask and the left arm below the shoulder are unfinished. The pose is related to that of the Leda executed in 1529-30 for Alfonso d'Este, and appears to depend from a figure in a lost Leda sarcophagus in the Domus Corneliorum in Rome, recorded in the sixteenth-century Codex Pighianus (for this see Michaelis, 'Michelangelos Leda und ihr antikes Vorbild', in *Strassburger Festgrüsse an A. Springer*, Stuttgart, 1885, pp. 31 ff). Doni (*I Marmi*, iii, Venice, 1552, p. 23) records that the original left arm of the figure was spoiled, and was then recarved in its present position by Michelangelo: 'la Notte riposi giù la testa, & nel muover che la fece la guastò la prima attitudine del sinistro braccio, che Michelagniolo gli haveva sculpito, così fu forzato a rifarne un'altro come voi vedete, in un'altra attitudine che stessi più vaga, più comoda, e meglio; che da se aconciata non s'era . . .' (Night inclines her head downwards. When the figure was being moved, the left arm, in the original position in which Michelangelo had carved it, was damaged; he was thus compelled to make a new one, as you see, in a different position, and this is more graceful, more apt and better than it was before). Doni's evidence is accepted by Kriegbaum, and is associated by him with an enquiry made by the Pope in 1526 (see above) as to a statue reported to have been damaged. The condition of the top of the mask tends to substantiate this tradition. The diadem worn by the figure is decorated with the moon and stars, and beside it is an owl, an unfinished garland (perhaps of poppies) and a mask, interpreted alternatively as symbolic of dreams (Steinmann) and deceit (Panofsky). The figure is described by Fichard in 1536 as a Minerva.

**DAY.** L. 185 cm. The head and right hand are unfinished. As has been widely observed, the pose derives from the Belvedere torso. The Day is shorter and larger in scale than the other three Allegories, and like the Night is constructed with an almost flat base which has been roughly adapted to the form of the sarcophagus lid. It was argued by Grimm ('Die Sarkophage der Sacristei von San Lorenzo', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, i, 1880, pp. 17-29) that the volutes of the lid of the sarcophagus of Giuliano de' Medici were originally to have had the form of those of the Paul III monument of Guglielmo della Porta. This point was subsequently taken up by Petersen ('Zu Meisterwerken der Renaissance', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, i, 1906, pp. 179-87) and Gottschewski (in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, i, 1911, p. 81), who inferred first that the Day and Night were earlier than the Morning and Evening, second that they were intended to be set horizontally and face to face, third that they were therefore carved for the Magnifici sarcophagi shown on a drawing in the British Museum, and fourth that they offered evidence for a radical change in the planning of the monuments at a relatively late stage. This theory was subsequently revived by Kriegbaum. The view that the two Allegories were made for any other monument than that of Giuliano de' Medici cannot be seriously entertained in face (i) of a well-known prose fragment by

Michelangelo in which the statue of Giuliano is associated with the Night and Day, and (ii) of a drawing by a garzone of Michelangelo in the Archivio Buonarroti (X, f. 627v.) published by Tolnay. On the other hand, the attempt to explain the disparity between the Night and Day and the Morning and Evening in aesthetic terms (Riegl, Wölfflin), or as a contrast between 'rotatory movement' and 'downward flowing movement' (Tolnay) are unconvincing, and the different form and scale of the two pairs of figures are consistent only with the view that the Day and Night were carved before the Morning and Evening at a time when the form of the sarcophagus lids had not been finally decided on. Whereas the Night, Morning and Evening are uniform in so far as they are designed to be set at their present heights, in the Day a lower viewpoint is postulated. There is a presumption, therefore, that it was executed earlier than the other figures.

**MORNING.** L. 203 cm. The feet and the sheet beneath the figure are unfinished. The figure was presumably in large part complete by the end of September 1531, since Giovanbattista di Paolo Mini in a letter of 29 September to Bartolomeo Valori (Gaye, ii, pp. 228-30) mentions a visit to the Chapel to see 'le dua femine'. The veil is interpreted by Steinmann as a symbol of mourning. Interpretations of the figure vary between those of Justi, who describes it as greeting the day, and Ollivier, who writes: 'Warum, o mein Gott, scheint sie zu sagen, machst du die Nacht nicht ewig?' Both the Morning and Evening are set diagonally on the sarcophagus lid. It is assumed by Tolnay that this is the placing intended by Michelangelo: it is possible, however, that the figures were originally designed to be set parallel with the wall.

**EVENING.** L. 195 cm. The head, hands and feet are incomplete. Classical sources for the figure are noted by Stendhal and Cicognara. Kriegbaum ('Michelangelo und die Antike', in *Zur Florentiner Plastik des Cinquecento*, Munich, n.d.) observes that there is no authority in Michelangelo's written works for the identification of this and the companion figure as Morning and Evening, and that the designation is a 'typisch höfische und sehr allgemeine Ausdeutung' which originates with Vasari. Since it appears during Michelangelo's lifetime in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1550) and is not contradicted by Condivi, it cannot be dismissed.

**VIRGIN AND CHILD.** H. 226 cm. The block from which the Virgin and Child for the Magnifici monument was to be carved is mentioned for the first time in 1521. Three drawings of a scheme for the Magnifici tombs by garzoni of Michelangelo in Oxford, the Uffizi and the Louvre show a seated Virgin with the Child standing in front of her in a pose developed from that of the Bruges Madonna. That this scheme corresponds with Michelangelo's intention is confirmed by a summary autograph sheet in the British Museum. It has been argued (best analysis by Kriegbaum) that the present group was evolved from the group shown in these drawings. This is improbable, because the group shown in the drawings was clearly intended for a rectangular niche and shows a general

correspondence with the Capitani statues, whereas the present group is asymmetrical. Technical and formal resemblances to the Victory suggest the possibility that it was carved about 1521-3 for the tomb of Pope Julius II, and may have been introduced only at a late stage into the Medici Chapel in substitution for a Madonna figure work on which had been broken off. In 1549 (Doni) it was not in the Chapel, like the other figures destined for this complex, but was in the artist's workshop. It is, however, described in the Chapel in 1550 by Vasari. The group, the scheme of which depends in reverse from the Vatican Penelope, is wrongly regarded by W. Friedlaender ('Die Entstehung des antiklassischen Stiles', in *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, xlvi, 1925, pp. 55 ff.) as evidence of the influence on Michelangelo of Florentine Mannerist painting.

**CROUCHING YOUTH.** Hermitage, Leningrad. H. 58 cm. The figure, which appears originally to have been in Medici possession, was transferred to the Hermitage in 1851. It is connected by Popp with a drawing for the Magnifici tombs in the British Museum (Wilde, No. 27r), which shows two crouching youths facing each other in profile above the entablature on the left. Wölfflin regards the profile of the figure as its main view; this is debatable. An early dating ca. 1497-1500 proposed by Frey is rejected by Popp and Tolnay in favour of a dating ca. 1524. A dating ca. 1525-6 is proposed by Kriegbaum. It is supposed by Tolnay that garzoni worked on the feet, hands and hair, and by Wittkower (in *Burlington Magazine*, lxxviii, 1941, p. 133) that the figure is by Pierino da Vinci. The latter attribution is untenable. It is possible, however, that the figure was worked on by Tribolo. The subject is identified as a mourning genius (Tolnay), and, less plausibly, as a tired warrior (Kriegbaum). If the figure were worked up by a pupil from a model by Michelangelo, it is likely to date from 1533-4. An unfinished crouching female figure in left profile (H. 56 cm.), published by Kieslinger ('Ein unbekanntes Werk des Michelangelo', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xlvi, 1928, pp. 50-4) was possibly designed for a position above the entablature on the right side of the tomb.

**RIVER GOD.** Accademia, Florence. L. 180 cm. The figure, which is made of stucco or unbaked clay, is headless; the right arm is severed above the elbow, and the right leg beneath the knee. It is known that in 1549 two models for figures of River Gods were shown beneath the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici in the Medici Chapel; the evidence for this derives from A. F. Doni (*I Marmi*, iii, Venice, 1552, p. 24), where the question is asked 'Che stupendo bozza di terra sono queste qui basse?' and the reply is given 'Havevano a essere due Figuroni di marmo che Michelagnolo voleva fare'. A model of a River God by Michelangelo four braccia in length was presented by Ammanati to the Accademia in 1583, and is presumably identical with the present figure, which was discovered in the Accademia in 1906. The length of the figure when complete would have been of the order of four braccia (240 cm.). It is, moreover, known from a Medici inventory of 1553 (Gottschewski, 'Ein Flussgott Michelangelos', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, i, 1906, pp. 189-93) that the Medici collection included 'un torso di

bronzo ritratto da un Fiume di mano di Michelagnolo'. Two small bronze variants of the present model are in the Bargello. The authenticity of the model is, however, doubted by Frey and Popp, by the latter of whom it is ascribed to Ammanati. The present model is for the River God on the left side of the tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici. A working drawing for the figure of a River God in the British Museum (1859-6-25-544, Wilde, No. 35) is identified (Popp, Wilde) as a study for the figure projected for the right side of the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici. This sheet can be dated to the autumn of 1525. A letter of Michelangelo to Fattucci of 24 October 1525 (Milanesi, p. 450) explains that at that time the River Gods had not been begun 'perchè non ci sono e' marmi'. It is observed by Wilde that the figure in the drawing is larger than that in the model, and that a decision to increase the size of the River Gods may have been taken by Michelangelo in 1525, thus necessitating the procurement of new blocks. In this event the Accademia model would date from 1524.

#### OTHER SCULPTURES

It has also been argued (Popp) that the Apollo of Baccio Valori in the Bargello was originally carved as a figure of David for a niche in the upper part of the Magnifici tomb, and that the Active Life and Contemplative Life utilised for the final version of the Julius II tomb depend from the figures planned for the lateral niches of the Lorenzo de' Medici monument. The first of these hypotheses is improbable, but it is possible (Wilde) that the Active Life (though not the companion figure) was begun for the Lorenzo de' Medici tomb.

#### Interpretation and Iconography

The principal sixteenth-century sources for the interpretation and iconography of the Medici Chapel are as follows:

(A) Condigi (1553): 'Il che intendendo Michelagnolo, uscì fuore e, sebbene era stato intorno a quindici anni che non aveva tocchi ferri, con tanto studio si messe a tale impresa, che in pochi mesi fece tutte quelle statue che nella Sagrestia di San Lorenzo si veggono, spinto più dalla paura che dall'amore. È vero che nessuna di queste ha avuta l'ultima mano; però son condotte a tal grado, che molto bene si può veder l'eccellenza dell'artefice, nè il bozzo impedisce la perfezione e la bellezza dell'opera . . . sopra i coperchi delle quali giacciono due figurone, maggiori del naturale, cioè un uomo e una donna, significandosi per queste il Giorno e la Notte, e per ambedue il Tempo, che consuma il tutto. E perchè tal suo proposito meglio fosse inteso, messe alla Notte, ch'è fatta in forma di donna di meravigliosa bellezza, la civetta ed altri segni a ciò accomodati; così al Giorno le sue note. E per la significazione del Tempo voleva fare un topo, avendo lasciato in sull'opera un poco di marmo, il qual poi non fece, impedito; perciocchè tale animaluccio di continuo rode e consuma, non altrimenti che'l Tempo ogni cosa divora. Ci son poi altre statue, che rappresentano quelli, per chi tali sepolture furon fatte, tutte in conclusione divine, più che umane; ma sopra tutte una Madonna, col suo figliuolino a cavalchioni sopra la coscia di lei, della quale giudico esser meglio tacere che dirne poco; però me ne passo' (When Michelangelo heard this he

came forth, and although it was fifteen years since he had touched a chisel, set about the undertaking with such zeal, that he made within a few months all those statues which are to be seen in the Sacristy of S. Lorenzo, spurred on more by fear than by love. It is true that none of these statues have received their final touch; but they have been brought to such a pitch, that the excellence of the craftsman can be seen, and their sketchy condition does not prevent the work from being beautiful and perfect. . . . above the lids of the tombs lie two great figures, over life-size, one man and one woman; by these he represented Day and Night, and, by the two together, Time, which consumes everything. So that his meaning might be better understood, he gave to Night, who is made in the form of a woman of marvellous beauty, the owl and other attributes proper to her; and to Day, his. To signify Time he intended to carve a mouse, and had left a small piece of marble for it on the work, but he did not make it later, as he was prevented from it; he intended to do this because that little animal gnaws and consumes continually, just as Time devours everything. There are also other statues, representing those for whom the tombs were made; all of them are more divine than human, but especially a Madonna, with her little son astride her thigh. I think it is better to say nothing about this than to say little, so I will pass on).

(B) Vasari (1550): 'chiamato Michele Agnolo (papa Clemente) e ragionando insieme di molte cose, si risolsero cominciar la sagrestia nuova di S. Lorenzo di Fiorenza. Laonde partitosi di Roma voltò la cupola, che vi si vede . . . Fecevi dentro quattro sepolture per ornamento nelle facce per li corpi de padri de' due Papi Lorenzo Vecchio e Giuliano suo fratello, e per Giuliano fratel di Leone, et per il Duca Lorenzo suo nipote' (Pope Clement summoned Michelangelo and they discussed many things together, deciding to begin the new sacristy of S. Lorenzo in Florence. Michelangelo therefore departed from Rome, and raised the cupola that is to be seen there. . . . Inside he made four tombs, to decorate the walls and to contain the bodies of the fathers of the two Popes, the elder Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano, and also for Giuliano, Leo's brother, and for Duke Lorenzo, his nephew). Vasari goes on to describe the architecture of the chapel ('Onde gli artefici gli hanno infinito et perpetuo obbligo; avendo egli rotti i lacci et le catene delle cose, che per via d'una strada comune eglino di continuo operavano') (Therefore craftsmen owe him an infinite and everlasting debt; for he broke the bonds and chains on account of which they had always worked along a groove of convention), and the sculptures ('l'una è la Nostra Donna, la quale nella sua attitudine sedendo manda la gamba ritta addosso alla manca, con posar ginocchio sopra ginocchio: et il putto inforcando le cosce in su quella che è più alta, si storce con attitudine bellissima in verso la madre, chiedendo il latte, et ella con tenerlo con una mano, et con l'altra appoggiandosi si piega per dargliene, ancora che non siano finite le parti sue, si conosce nell'esser rimasta abozzata et gradinata, nella imperfezione della bozza, la perfezione dell'opra . . . egli pensassi, che non solo la terra fuisse per la grandezza loro bastante a dar loro onorata sepoltura: ma volse che tutte le parti del mondo vi fossero, et che gli mettessero in mezo et coprissero il lor' sepolcro quattro statue: a uno

pose la notte et il giorno; a l'altro l'Aurora et il crepuscolo. Le quali statue sono con bellissime forme di attitudini et artificio di muscoli lavorate, convenienti se l'arte perduta fosse a ritornarla nella pristina luce . . . Ma che dirò io de la Aurora femmina ignuda et da fare uscire il maninconico dell'animo, et smarrire lo stile alla scultura: nella quale attitudine si conosce il suo sollecito levarsi sonnacchiosa, svilupparsi da le piume, perchè par' che nel destarsi ella abbia trovato serrati gl'occhi, a quel gran Duca. Onde si storce con amaritudine, dolendosi nella sua continuata bellezza in segno del gran dolore . . . Notte . . . conoscendosi non solo la quiete di chi dorme, ma il dolore et la maninconia di chi perde cosa onorata et grande') (One is Our Lady, who is in a sitting attitude, with her right leg over her left and one knee on the other; and the Child, with his thighs astride the upper leg, turns with a most beautiful attitude towards his Mother, seeking milk. She, holding him with one hand and supporting herself with the other, leans forward to give it to him; and, although not all the parts of the figure are finished, one recognises the perfection of the work even in its sketchy state and with the marks of the chisel on it . . . he considered that earth alone was not sufficient to give them honourable burial equal to their greatness; he wished all the parts of the world to be there, and their tombs to be surrounded and covered by four statues. On one he put Night and Day, on the other Dawn and Dusk. These statues are worked with the most beautifully formed attitudes and skilful treatment of the muscles, and would be sufficient, if art were lost, to bring it back to its former glory . . . But what shall I say of the Dawn, a nude woman, such as to rouse melancholy in the soul and overthrow the style of sculpture? One can see in her attitude the effort to rise, heavy with sleep, and unfold herself from her bed; and she seems, in waking, to have found the eyes of the great Duke closed. Therefore she is tormented with bitter sadness, grieving in unchanging beauty in token of great sorrow . . . In Night . . . one recognises not only the stillness of someone sleeping, but the sorrow and melancholy of a person who has lost something great and honoured).

(C) Niccolò Martelli in a letter of 28 July 1544 (*Il primo libro delle lettere di Niccolò Martelli*, Florence, 1546) relating to the statues of the two Capitani: 'Havendo (Michelangelo) . . . a scolpire i Signori illustri della felicissima casa de' Medici, non tolse dal Duca Lorenzo, ne dal Sig. Giuliano il modello apunto come la natura gli avea effigiati e composti, ma diede loro una grandezza, una propotione, un decoro . . . qual gli parea che più lodi loro arrecassero, dicendo che di qui a mille anni nessuno non ne potea dar cognitione che fossero altrimenti' (When Michelangelo . . . had to carve the noble lords of the fortunate house of Medici, he did not use as his models Duke Lorenzo and Lord Giuliano as Nature had portrayed and composed them, but rather gave them a size, proportion and beauty . . . which he thought would bring them more praise; for, he said, in a thousand years nobody would know they had been different).

(D) Varchi (*Due Lezioni*, Florence, 1549, p. 117): 'Ma chi potrà mai non dico lodare, ma meravigliarsi tanto, che baste dell' ingegno, et del giudizio di questo huomo? che devendo fare i sepolcri al Duca di Nemors, & al Duca Lorenzo de' Medici, spresse in quattro marmi, à guisa, che fa Dante ne' versi, il suo

altissimo concetto, percio che volendo (per quanto io mi stimo) significare, che per sepolcro di ciascuno di costoro, si conveniva non solo un'Emisperio, ma tutto'l Mondo, ad uno pose la Notte, e'l giorno, & à l'altro l'aurora, e'l crepuscolo, che gli mettessero in mezzo, & coprissero, come quegli fanno la terra; la qual cosa fu medesimamente osservata in piu luoghi da Dante' (Who could ever sufficiently, not just praise, but wonder at the genius and judgement of this man? For, when he had to make the tombs of the Duke of Nemours and Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, he expressed his high conception in four marbles, in the same way as Dante does in his verses. He intended, I think, to signify that not just a hemisphere, but rather indeed the whole world, was proper tomb for each one of them. By one he put Night and Day, by the other Dawn and Dusk, stationed on each side of them, and covering them as they cover the earth. Dante made the same observation in several places).

(E) Gandolfo Porrini in a poem cited by Varchi (loc. cit.), the last lines of which refer to the subjects of the River Gods:

'E i Magnanimi Re del Tebro & d'Arno  
I gran sepolcri aspettaranno indarno.'  
(The noble kings of the Tiber and Arno  
The great tombs will await in vain.)

(F) Borghini (*Il Riposo*, Florence, 1584): 'Inventione ben osservata si può chiamar quella di Michelangnolo nella bellissima figura da lui per la Notte finta; percioche oltre al farla in atto di dormire, le fece la luna in fronte, e l'uccello notturno a' piedi; cose che dimostrano la Notte, se bene altramente la dipinsero gli antichi; conciosiache la fingessero una donna con due grandi ali nere con ghirlanda di papaveri in capo . . . piu propria al pittore che allo statuario' (One may call Michelangelo's invention in the beautiful figure representing Night well-considered. As well as showing her sleeping, he made a moon on her forehead and an owl at her feet. These things identify Night, even though the ancients depicted her differently: they represented her as a woman with two great black wings and a wreath of poppy on her head . . . more suitable for a painter than a sculptor). Borghini elsewhere refers to the 'figure giacenti con bellissime attitudini, le quali comeche sieno di marmo, di vera carne appariscono, e lo spirito sol manca loro, e niente più' (reclining figures in beautiful attitudes; though of marble, they seem to be of real flesh, and they only lack breath, nothing else).

(G) A prose fragment of Michelangelo on a drawing in the British Museum for the tomb of the Magnifici (Frey, *Dichtungen*, XVIII; Girardi, *Rime*, 13) apparently dating from 1520-21: 'La fama tiene gli epitafi a giacere; non va ne inanzi ne indietro, perche son morti, e c'loro operare e fermo' (Fame holds the epitaphs, reclining; it moves neither forward nor backward, because they are dead, and their action is stilled).

(I) An epigram written by Giovanni di Carlo Strozzi, with a reply by Michelangelo (Frey, *Dichtungen*, CIX 17; Girardi, *Rime*, 247) dating from 1545-46:

La Notte, che tu vedi in sì dolci atti  
dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita  
in questo sasso, e, perchè dorme, ha vita;  
Destala, se nol credi, e parleratti.

Caro m'è'l sonno et più l'esser di sasso  
Mentre che'l danno et la vergogna dura;  
Non veder, non sentir m'è gran ventura  
Però non mi destar, deh, parla basso.

(Night, seen sleeping here in such sweet attitude, was carved by an Angel in this stone; and since she sleeps, she must have life. If you do not believe it, wake her and she will speak to you. Sleep is dear to me, and being stone is even more so, as long as misfortune and dishonour remain. Not to see, not to hear, is great good fortune for me. So do not wake me: speak low.)

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the iconography of the Medici Chapel has been interpreted on many different lines. It has been regarded as a political allegory, has been treated subjectively (Justi), and has been related to Ambrosian hymns (Brockhaus), to a carnival song (Steinmann; for the case against the latter view see Wickhoff, *Abhandlungen, Vorträge, und Anzeigen*, ii, Berlin, 1913, pp. 385-7), and to the *Phaedo* of Plato (Oeri). In recent times emphasis has been placed on a Neoplatonic interpretation, which was first advanced by Borinski (*Die Rätsel Michelangelos*, Munich, 1908), and has been elaborated by subsequent students, notably Tolnay and Panofsky. According to the former, the Chapel represents 'an abbreviated image of the universe, with its spheres hierarchically ranged one above the other', the zone of the River Gods representing Hades, the intermediate zone of the allegories and effigies the terrestrial sphere, and the upper zone of the lunettes and cupola the celestial sphere. In this interpretation the eight doors of the Chapel, five of which are blind, become the doors of Hades, and the four Rivers of Hades are represented beneath the tombs. The tomb architecture is an idealised palace façade, 'the house of the dead decorated with the emblems of death', and the frieze of laughing masks is 'a symbol of derision of the fear of death'. The two seated figures depict the immortal souls of the two Capitani in 'calm stoic contemplation of the supreme truth', and mark a break with the tradition of portrait naturalism in so far as they do not portray the empirical personalities of the two Dukes. The nude figures destined for the lateral niches of the Giuliano de' Medici tomb would have shown the two contrasting souls of man, or the genii of the Capitani. Tolnay's interpretation of the Allegories differs from Panofsky's in that it retains an element of nineteenth-century subjectivism. Thus with the Morning 'physical lassitude seems to paralyse her. . . . The awakening of someone who is aware of the futility of existence and of the trials which await him at the new day'; the Evening 'has abandoned all vain struggle. . . . The pose and the forms of the body incarnate directly a psychic condition'; for the Night 'sleep is not repose, but unfulfilled desire'; and the Day 'an incarnation of physical eruption, and not merely a body animated by anger'.

For Panofsky each of the tombs also depicts 'an apotheosis as conceived by Ficino and his circle: the ascension of the soul through the hierarchies of the Neoplatonic universe'. The River Gods once more represent the Rivers of Hades, 'the fourfold aspect of matter enslaving the human soul at the moment of birth', and the four Allegories of the times of day again represent the terrestrial world. In Panofsky's reading, however,

as in that of Steinmann, both River Gods and Times of Day have secondary meanings, the former as denoting the four elements, or the fourfold aspect of matter as a source of potential evil, and the latter as denoting the four humours, whereby the conception of life on earth is a state of actual suffering is transmitted through an 'impression of intense and incurable pain'. Panofsky adopts Tolnay's interpretation of the statues of the Capitani, as depicting the antithesis between the active and the contemplative life. The trophies originally destined for the monuments are regarded by Panofsky as symbols of ultimate triumph over the lower forms of existence; the crouching children presumed to have stood on the architrave present 'unborn souls destined to descend into the lower spheres'; and the empty thrones indicate 'the invisible presence of an immortal'.

There is no evidence in contemporary sources that the monuments should or can be interpreted along these lines. The only contemporary reference to the River Gods (see E above) states that these represented the Tiber and Arno, and it is known that this imagery was also employed at the investiture of Giuliano de' Medici in 1513 (Altieri, op. cit., p. 28: 'Nell'intavolatura, sopra la man destra, era un immagine e quella molto eccessiva dello Dio Tiberino di grandezza, bellezza et artificio si dimostrava di eccellente e singolare magisterio. Dalla man sinistra l'immagine del Fiume Arno d'ornato et artificio coeguale al detto Tiberino'). The celestial zone, with its frescoed lunettes, is wholly conjectural. There is, moreover, no reason to doubt the statement of Vasari that Earth and Heaven were represented in the projected lateral figures of the Giuliano tomb, the less so that they are named by Michelangelo in an autograph sheet in the Archivio Buonarroti (Frey, No. 162). Contemporary warrant is supplied by Condivi and Vasari for interpreting the four Allegories as the Times of Day, with specific reference to the corrosive effects of time, but there is no contemporary warrant for any secondary interpretation. The two Dukes are represented in classical armour as Captains of the Church. According to Niccolò Martelli, both likenesses were idealised in a form which the sculptor thought appropriate for posterity; in all probability this type of portraiture was inspired not by a wish to portray the soul but by the generalised images in antique portrait statues. As noted by Tolnay, the classicising decorative detail (dolphins, garlands, oil jars, shells, trophies and masks) has throughout a funerary character. Panofsky relates the empty thrones to thrones used in expiatory ceremonies in ancient Rome.

Plates 36, 37: THE LAMENTATION OVER  
THE DEAD CHRIST  
Duomo, Florence

The Lamentation over the Dead Christ in the Duomo in Florence is mentioned in the first edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1550), and must thus have been begun before that year. It is described in 1553 by Condivi in the following terms: 'Ora ha per le mani un'opera di marmo, qual egli fa a suo diletto, come quello che pieno di concetti, è forza che ogni giorno ne partorisca qualcuno.

Quest'è un gruppo di quattro figure più che al naturale, cioè un Cristo deposto di croce, sostenuto così morto dalla sua Madre. La quale si vede sottentrare a quel corpo col petto, colle braccia e col ginocchio in mirabil atto, ma però aiutata di sopra da Nicodemo, che ritto e fermo in sulle gambe lo solleva sotto le braccia, mostrando forza gagliarda, e da una delle Marie della parte sinistra. La quale ancor che molto dolente si dimostrò, nondimeno non manca di far quell'uffizio, che la Madre per lo estremo dolore prestare non può. Il Cristo abbandonato casca con tutte le membra relaxate, ma in atto molto differente e da quel che Michelangolo fece per la Marchesana di Pescara e da quel della Madonna della Febbre. Saria cosa impossibile narrare la bellezza e gli affetti, che ne' dolenti e mesti volti si veggono, sì di tutti gli altri, sì dell'affannata Madre; però questo basti. Vo' ben dire ch'è cosa rara, e delle faticose opere, che egli fino a qui abbia fatte; massimamente perchè tutte le figure distintamente si veggono, nè i panni dell'una si confondono co' panni dell'altra' (He has in hand at present a marble work which he is doing for his own pleasure; for a man who is full of ideas is forced to work at something every day. It is a group of four figures, over life-size: a Christ taken down from the Cross and held up, dead as he is, by his Mother. She is shown sinking under the weight of the body, with her breast, arms and knee in an admirable attitude; but she is being helped from above by Nicodemus, who is upright and steady on his legs, and supports the body under the arms, showing a robust strength. And the Virgin is also assisted by one of the Marys, on the left; she, although she is shown full of grief, does not fail to fulfil that duty which the Mother, on account of her great grief, cannot. The dead Christ falls with all his limbs relaxed, but in an attitude very different from that Michelangelo made for the Marchioness of Pescara and from that of the Madonna della Febbre. It would be impossible to describe the beauty and emotions which show in the sad and grieving faces, both of the afflicted Mother and of all the others; so let this be enough. I would say that it is a rare object, and one of the most painstaking works he has yet made, above all because all the figures are distinctly visible, and the drapery of one figure does not mingle with the drapery of another). The description of the group in the 1568 edition of Vasari's *Vite* follows a letter of 1564 and is as follows: 'Lavorava Michelagnolo, quasi ogni giorno per suo passatempo, intorno a quella Pietà che s'è già ragionato, con le quattro figure; la quale egli spezzò in questo tempo per queste cagioni: perchè quel sasso aveva molti smerigli, ed era duro, e faceva spesso fuoco nello scarcello, o fusse pure che il giudizio di quello uomo fussi tanto grande, che non si contentava mai di cosa che e' facessi: e che e' sia il vero, delle sue statue se ne vede poche finite nella sua virilità. . . . Questa Pietà, come fu rotta, la donò a Francesco Bandini. In questo tempo Tiberio Calcagni, scultore fiorentino, era divenuto molto amico di Michelagnolo per mezzo di Francesco Bandini e di messer Donato Giannotti; ed essendo un giorno in casa di Michelagnolo, dove era rotta questa Pietà, dopo lungo ragionamento li domandò per che cagione l'avessi rotta, e guasto tante maravigliose fatiche; rispose, esserne cagione la importunità di Urbino suo servitore, che ogni dì lo sollecitava a finirla; e che, fra l'altre cose, gli venne levato un pezzo d'un gomito della Madonna, e che prima

ancora se l'era recata in odio, e ci aveva avuto molte disgrazie attorno di un pelo che v'era; dove scappatogli la pazienza la roppe, e la voleva rompere affatto, se Antonio suo servitore non se' gli fussi raccomandato che così com' era gliene donassi. Dove Tiberio, inteso ciò, parlò al Bandino che desiderava di avere qualcosa di man sua; ed il Bandino operò che Tiberio promettessi a Antonio scudi 200 d'oro e pregò Michelagnolo che se volessi che con suo aiuto di modelli Tiberio la finissi per il Bandino, saria cagione che quelle fatiche non sarebbono gettate in vano; e ne fu contento Michelagnolo: là dove ne fece loro un presente. Questa fu portata via subito, e rimessa insieme poi da Tiberio, e rifatto non so che pezzi; ma rimase imperfetta per la morte del Bandino, di Michelagnolo e di Tiberio. Trovansi al presente nelle mani di Pierantonio Bandini, figliuolo di Francesco, alla sua vigna di Montecavallo' (Michelangelo used to work almost every day, as a pastime, on the Pietà with four figures, of which I have already spoken. He broke it to pieces at this time, either because the stone was difficult to work and hard, and often sparked under the chisel, or because his judgement was so great that he was never content with anything he made. This is shown to be true by the fact that there are few finished statues of his to be seen from the period of his maturity. . . . He gave this Pietà, when it was broken, to Francesco Bandini. At this time Tiberio Calcagni, a Florentine sculptor, had become a great friend of Michelangelo through Francesco Bandini and Donato Gianotti. One day he was in Michelangelo's house, where the broken Pietà was, and after a long conversation asked him why he had broken it up and destroyed such marvellous work. He replied that the reason was the importunity of his servant Urbino, who had been urging him every day to finish it; and that, among other things, a piece of one of the elbows of the Madonna had broken away, and even before that he had taken a dislike to it, and had had many mishaps with it on account of a flaw. For these reasons he had lost patience and broken it, and he would have broken it up completely if his servant Antonio had not begged him to give it to him as it stood. When Tiberio heard this, he spoke to Bandini, who wished to have something from Michelangelo's hand; and Bandini had Tiberio promise Antonio 200 gold scudi, and begged Michelangelo to let Tiberio finish it for him with the help of his models, pointing out that in this way his labours would not be wasted. Michelangelo agreed to this, and gave it to them. It was taken away at once, and then put together again and reconstructed by Tiberio with I know not how many new pieces; but it was left unfinished through the deaths of Bandino, Michelangelo and Tiberio. At present it is in the hands of Pierantonio Bandini, Francesco's son, at his villa on Monte Cavallo). Urbino died on 3 December 1555, and the incident reported by Vasari must therefore have occurred before this year. A letter from Vasari to Leonardo Buonarroti of 18 March 1564 (Frey, *Vasaris Literarischer Nachlass*, No. CDXXXVI) states that the group was intended by Michelangelo for his own monument in Santa

Maria Maggiore: 'E venutomi consideratione, che Michelagnolo, dudita io, et che lo sa anche Daniello et messer Tomao Cavalieri et molti altri suoi amici, che la pietà delle cinque figure, chegli roppe, la faceva per la sepoltura sua; et vorrei ritrovare, come suo erede, in che modo laveva il Bandino: Perche se la ricercherete per servirvene per detta sepoltura, oltre che ella e disegniata per lui, evvi un vecchio che egli ritrasse se, non sendo stato poi tolta da Tiberio, procurerei di averla et me ne vorrei servire per cio' (It has occurred to me that Michelangelo made, I think, the Pietà with five figures, the one which he broke up, for his tomb; Daniello and Messer Tomaso de' Cavalieri and many other friends of his know this too. You should discover, as his heir, how Bandini came to have possession of it. If you seek it out to use it for the tomb, quite apart from its being designed for that, there is an old man in it which is a self-portrait, if it was not removed by Tiberio. Try and get it, and do make use of me for that purpose). Among the advantages of this proposal, according to Vasari, were the facts (i) that Michelangelo had intended the group for his own tomb, and (ii) that if the Pietà were handed over for the monument, Cosimo I would be left with the contents of Michelangelo's Florentine studio. Pierantonio Bandini refused, however, to respond to this appeal, and in 1652 the group was still in the Bandini villa. Between this date and 1674 it was moved to Florence at the instance of Cosimo III, who refused to allow it to be installed in the Medici Chapel, and instead placed it in the crypt of San Lorenzo. In 1721 it was installed behind the high altar of the Duomo in substitution for the Adam and Eve of Bandinelli, and in the 1930s was moved to its present position on an altar in the north transept of the Cathedral. A statement of Kriegbaum (p. 42) that the sculpture was in the master's workshop at the time of his death is incorrect. Parts of the group are considerably broken, and there is no unanimity of view as to whether certain of these are original parts that have been replaced or additions by Calcagni. Both arms appear to be original. Von Einem ('Bemerkungen zur Florentiner Pietà Michelangelos', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lxi, 1940, pp. 77-99) reaches an opposite conclusion. There is a repair (presumably by Calcagni) on the breast of Christ and in one finger of the left hand of the Virgin. The left hand of Christ has also been ascribed to Calcagni (Grünwald, Tolnay). It is suggested by Tolnay that the missing left leg of Christ was carved from a separate piece of marble; this would have been highly uncharacteristic of the master. The group has been extensively modified on the left side, and the whole of the figure of the Magdalen is by Calcagni. D. Levi ('La Tomba della Pellegrina a Chiusi' in *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, iv, 1932, pp. 9-60) draws attention to a sarcophagus with the Death of Patroclus, now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence and formerly in the Casa Buonarroti, two figures in which present analogies to the Christ and Nicodemus in the present group.

# GIOVANNI FRANCESCO RUSTICI

(b. 1474; d. 1554)

Born on 13 November 1474, Rustici is stated by Vasari to have been a pupil of Verrocchio. He was later closely associated with Leonardo da Vinci. His first dated work is a marble bust of Boccaccio in the Collegiata at Certaldo (1503). Between 1506 and 1511 he was engaged on the bronze group of the Preaching of the Baptist over the north entrance to the Baptistry in Florence (see Plates 38, 39 below), and in 1510 he executed a bronze candlestick, also for the Baptistry (lost; sometimes wrongly identified with a candlestick in the Museo Nazionale, Florence). In 1514 he was employed on Verrocchio's Forteguerri Monument for the Duomo at Pistoia, carving or completing the kneeling figure of the Cardinal, and in 1515 he had a share in the decorations for the entry of Pope Leo X into Florence. As a result of these he was commissioned to execute a bronze statuette of Mercury for the Palazzo Medici (see Plate 40 below) and a terracotta statue of David (lost) to replace the bronze David of Donatello which had been moved to the Palazzo della Signoria. On the expulsion of the Medici (1528) he left Florence for France with an introduction from Giovanni Battista della Palla to Francis I. Before leaving Florence he executed an enamelled terracotta altarpiece of the *Noli Me Tangere* for S. Lucia (identified by Burckhardt and De Nicola with a relief in the Museo Nazionale, Florence) with a lunette of St. Augustine, and a marble tondo of the Virgin and Child with the young Baptist for the Arte della Seta (Fig. 8, identified by De Nicola with a relief in the Museo Nazionale, the attribution of which is rejected by Loeser), both described by Vasari, as well as an altarpiece of the Annunciation and a number of classicising terracotta roundels for the Villa Salviati. Four terracotta groups of fighting horsemen (Louvre, Paris; Museo Nazionale and Palazzo Vecchio, Florence) reflect the influence of Leonardo, to whom they have sometimes been mistakenly ascribed (for these see Loeser). Rustici's principal task in France was an equestrian monument of the King, work on which was suspended at the King's death in 1547. Other works conjecturally ascribed to this phase of his career are a bronze relief known as the *Fontainebleau Madonna* in the Louvre (Kennedy and Middeldorf), a bronze statue of Apollo with the Serpent Python from Saint-Cloud, also in the Louvre (Valentiner), and a popular bronze statuette of Virtue overcoming Vice (Frick Collection, New York, and elsewhere). The second of these attributions is doubtful, and the third is incorrect. A relief of St. George and the Dragon in Budapest (Middeldorf) is not exactly datable, but finds a point of reference in the Villa Salviati carvings; a number of works in terracotta (Middeldorf) seem to be of earlier date.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The main source for the activity of Rustici is the life of the sculptor by Vasari. This is supplemented by articles by De Nicola ('Notes on the Museo Nazionale of Florence-1', in *Burlington Magazine*, xxviii, 1915-6, pp. 171-8), Loeser ('Gianfrancesco Rustici', in *Burlington Magazine*, lii,

1928, pp. 260-72), Middeldorf ('New Attributions to G. F. Rustici', in *Burlington Magazine*, lxvi, 1935, pp. 71-81), and Valentiner ('Rustici in France', in *Studies in the History of Art dedicated to W. E. Suida*, 1959, pp. 205-17).

## Plates 38, 39: ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PREACHING TO A LEVITE AND A PHARISEE Baptistry, Florence

Rustici's bronze group (Fig. 39) occupies its original position over the north door of the Baptistry. It shows (centre) St. John the Baptist beneath a tabernacle, with (left) a Pharisee and (right) a Levite. The three figures are raised on circular bronze plinths. The group is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Per quest'opere essendo venuto in molto credito Giovanfrancesco, i consoli dell'arte de' Mercatanti avendo fatto levare certe figuracce di marmo, che erano sopra le tre porte del tempio di San Giovanni, già state fatte, come s'è detto, nel mille ducento e quaranta, ed allogate al Contucci Sansovino quelle che si avevano in luogo delle vecchie a mettere sopra la porta che è verso la Misericordia; allogarono al Rustico quelle che si avevano a porre sopra la porta che è volta verso la canonica di quel tempio, acciò facesse tre figure di bronzo di braccia quattro l'una, e quelle stesse che vi erano vecchie, cioè un San Giovanni, che predicasse, e fusse in mezzo a un Fariseo ed a un Levite. La quale opera fu molto conforme al gusto di Giovanfrancesco, avendo a essere posta in luogo si celebre e di tanta importanza; ed oltre ciò, per la concorrenza d'Andrea Contucci. Messovi dunque subitamente mano, e fatto un modelletto piccolo, il quale superò con l'eccellenza dell'opera, ebbe tutte quelle considerazioni e diligenza che una si fatta opera richiedeva: la qual finita, fu tenuta in tutte le parti la più composta e meglio intesa, che per simile fusse stata fatta insino allora, essendo quelle figure d'intera perfezione e fatte nell'aspetto con grazia e bravura terribile. Similmente le braccia ignude e le gambe sono benissimo intese, ed appicate alle congiunture tanto bene, che non è possibile far più: e per non dir nulla delle mani e de' piedi, che graziose attitudini e che gravità eroica hanno quelle teste! Non volle Giovanfrancesco, mentre conduceva di terra quest'opera, altri attorno che Leonardo da Vinci, il quale nel fare le forme, armarle di ferri, ed insomma sempre, insino a che non furono gettate le statue, non l'abbandonò mai; onde credono alcuni, ma però non ne sanno altri, che Leonardo vi lavorasse di sua mano, o almeno aiutasse Giovanfrancesco col consiglio e buon giudizio suo. Queste statue, le quali sono le più perfette e meglio intese che siano state mai fatte di bronzo da maestro moderno, furono gettate in tre volte, e rinnette nella detta casa, dove abitava Giovanfrancesco nella via de' Martelli; e così gli ornamenti di marmo che sono

intorno al San Giovanni, con le due colonne, cornici, ed inseagna dell'arte de' Mercatanti. Oltre al San Giovanni, che è una figura pronta e vivace, vi è un zuccone grassotto che è bellissimo; il quale, posato il braccio destro sopra un fianco, con un pezzo di spalla nuda, e tenendo con la sinistra mano una carta dinanzi agli occhi, ha sopraposta la gamba sinistra alla destra, e sta in atto consideratissimo per rispondere a San Giovanni, con due sorti di panni vestito; uno sottile, che scherza intorno alle parti ignude della figura, ed un manto di sopra più grosso, condotto con un andar di pieghe, che è molto facile ed artifizioso. Simile a questo è il Fariseo, perciò portasi la man destra alla barba, con atto grave si tira alquanto a dietro, mostrando stupirsi delle parole di Giovanni' (After Giovanfrancesco had come into great credit through these works, the Consuls of the Guild of Merchants had certain clumsy marble statues removed, which were above the three doors of the Temple of S. Giovanni and had been made, as I have already said, in 1240; and while they allotted to Contucci Sansovino the job of making those that were to be put in place of the old ones above the door opposite the Misericordia, they allotted to Rustici the ones to be put above the door facing the canonical buildings of that temple, the conditions being that he should make three bronze figures, that they should each be four braccia high, and that they should represent the same persons as the old ones – St. John preaching between a Pharisee and a Levite. This work was much to the taste of Giovanfrancesco, both because it was to be put up in so celebrated and important a place, and because of the competition with Andrea Contucci. So he set his hand to it at once, making a small model which he improved on in the work itself, and took all the thought and pains that such a work demanded; and when it was finished it was considered in every part the best composed and best conceived thing of its kind to be made up to that time, because the figures were altogether perfect and had a graceful and impressively forceful appearance. In the same way, the nude arms and legs are very well conceived, and articulated at the joints so well that it is impossible to do better; and, not to mention the hands and feet, what graceful poise and noble weight have those heads! While he was shaping this work in clay, the only person Giovanfrancesco would have near him was Leonardo da Vinci, who, during the making of the moulds, the strengthening of them with irons, and in fact until the statues were cast never left him; and for this reason some people believe, although they know no more than this, that Leonardo worked on them with his own hand, or at least helped Giovanfrancesco with his advice and good judgement. These statues, which are the most perfect and best conceived ever to have been carried out in bronze by a modern master, were cast in three stages, and cleaned in that house in the Via de' Martelli where Giovanfrancesco lived; and so were the marble ornaments around the St. John, with the two columns, the cornice and the emblem of the Guild of the Merchants. As well as the St. John, which is an alert and lively figure, there is a rather fleshy bald man, who is beautifully done: he has rested his right arm on his hip, with part of his shoulder bare, and, holding in his left hand a piece of paper in front of his eyes, has crossed his left leg over his right, and stands in a very thoughtful attitude to answer St. John; and he is clad in two kinds of

drapery, one of them delicate, playing around the nude parts of the figure, the other a coarser mantle on top, done with a very fluent and clever movement of the folds. Equal to this is the Pharisee, who while he brings his right hand to his beard, draws himself back a little with a weighty movement, showing himself astonished at John's words). The documents relating to the group are published by Milanesi (*Sulla storia dell'arte toscana: scritti varj*, Siena, 1873, pp. 247–61). Two supplementary documents are printed by E. Müller-Walde ('Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Leonardo da Vinci-iii', in *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, xix, 1898, pp. 247–9). According to these, the commissioning of the group was first discussed on 3 December 1506 (four years after Andrea Sansovino's Baptism of Christ had been contracted for). The subject of the group, like that of the Baptism of Christ, was dictated by pre-existing marble statues by or from the workshop of Tino di Camaino. The relevant document reads: 'Considerato tre figure di marmo che sono sopra la porta dirimpetto all'opera di San Giovanni di detto tempio, quelle essere tanto goffe e mal fatte a comparazione delle porte et altro cose degne sono in detto tempio, pare che più tosto rechino vergogna stare et esser in detto luogo evidente, che onore e riputazione alla città e vostra Università; et ancora sono tanto consumate che in qualche parte anno cominciato a rovinare et quando dette figure si facessino di bronzo e belle, sarebbono corrispondenti alle porte di bronzo di detta chiesa' (Having considered the three marble figures which stand above that door of S. Giovanni which is opposite its office of works, and the fact that they are so clumsy and ill made in comparison with the doors and other fine things in that temple, it seems that, by standing and being in that conspicuous place, they bring shame rather than honour and fame to the city and to your guild; and besides they are so worn down that they have begun in some places to fall to pieces, and if these figures were beautiful and made of bronze they would be in character with the bronze doors of the church). A contract for the figures (for which see Müller-Walde) was signed on 10 December 1506: 'Mr. Gio. franc° l'anno 1506 sotto dì 10 Dicembre rog° Ser Gio. Gherardini cōuenne di fare tre figure di bronzo per douersi porre sopra la Porta di S. Gio. rincontro all'Opera ed hauerle finite in due anni libro d° 266. Se li paga f. 700 l'anno 1524 per de figure libro d° 64' (Master Giovanni Francesco, 10 December 1506, witness Giovanni Gherardini, undertook to make three bronze figures to be put up above the door of S. Giovanni opposite the Opera, and to have finished them within two years. . . . In 1524 he was paid 700 florins for these figures. . . .). On 9 March 1509, when the two year time limit had already expired, the sculptor was granted an extension of time in which to complete the statues. Terracotta models were ready for casting in bronze by 18 September 1509, when a contract for casting was entered into by the sculptor with Bernardino da Milano. The group was installed and exhibited on 24 June 1511. Payment for the group, to a total of 1200 florins, was not completed until 21 January 1523. The date of completion and exhibition is confirmed by Landucci's *Diario*; an attempt of Müller-Walde to advance the date of exhibition is unwarranted. The part played by Leonardo da Vinci in the planning or production of the statues has not been satisfactorily defined, but in view of the

weight of tradition connecting Leonardo's name with them this cannot have been negligible. Thus Vasari, in his life of Leonardo, states: 'E nella statuaria fece prove nelle tre figure di bronzo che sono sopra la porta di S. Giovanni dalla parte di tramontana, fatte da Gio. Franc. Rustici, ma ordinate col consiglio di Leonardo' (And he showed his ability in sculpture in the three bronze figures over the north door of S. Giovanni, which were carried out by Giovan Francesco Rustici, but designed with Leonardo's advice). Leonardo appears to have been in Florence in the first half of 1508, when a note in Arundel Ms. 263 (British Museum) reads: 'cominciato in Firenze in casa Pino di braccio Martelli addì 22 di marzo 1508.' Since the figures were not ready for casting till September 1509, it is possible that Leonardo, in 1508, played a decisive part in determining their form. For analyses of the Leonardesque characteristics of the statues see particularly F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Leonardo da Vinci e la scultura*, Bologna, 1922, and K. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci: an Account of his Career as an Artist*, Cambridge, 1939.

*Plate 40: MERCURY*  
Private Collection

According to Vasari, Rustici was commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici in 1515 to execute a small figure of Mercury

for the fountain in the Cortile of the Palazzo Medici. The commission was prompted by the Cardinal's interest in the decorations made by Rustici for the entry of Pope Leo X into Florence: 'le quali, perchè piacquero a Giulio cardinale de' Medici, furono cagione che gli fece far sopra il finimento della fontana che è nel cortile grande del palazzo de' Medici, il Mercurio di bronzo alto circa un braccio, che è nudo sopra una palla in atto di volare: al quale mise fra le mani un instrumento che è fatto, dall'acqua che egli versa in alto, girare. Imperochè, essendo bucata una gamba, passa la canna per quella e per il torso; onde, giunta l'acqua alla bocca della figura, percuote in quello strumento bilicato con quattro piastre sottili saldate a uso di farfalla, e lo fa girare. Questa figura, dico, per cosa piccola, fu molto lodata' (And as these statues pleased the Cardinal, he therefore had Rustici make, for the top of the fountain in the great court of the Medici Palace, the bronze Mercury about one braccio high, nude, poised on a ball, and about to take flight, and spouting water, whereby a mechanical device which it held in its hands was made to spin. The pipe, by entering one of the legs, which was pierced, passed through the torso and led to the mouth, whence the water beat against this instrument, that had four delicate wings, like those of a butterfly, attached to it, and was thereby made to revolve. This figure, as I say, though a small thing, was much praised). The identification of the present bronze as Rustici's Mercury is due to its former owner, Henry Harris. The mouth is bored to emit water.

**LORENZO LOTTI (LORENZETTO)**  
(b. 1490; d. 1541)

Born in Florence in 1490, Lorenzetto was employed in 1514 on the completion of Verrocchio's Forteguerri monument at Pistoia (Vol. II, pp. 314-5). In 1519 he was entrusted under the will of Agostino Chigi with the sculptures of the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, Rome (see Plate 41 below). He owed this commission (which was ratified in 1521 after Chigi's death) to the favour of Raphael. Moving back to Florence after the election of Pope Adrian VI, he was once more in Rome by 1523, when he was engaged with an assistant, Raffaello da Montelupo, on the Elias for the Chigi Chapel, and a standing Virgin and Child for the tomb of Raphael in the Pantheon. In 1524 he received the commission for the tomb of Bernardino Cappella in S. Stefano Rotondo. After this time he carved a large statue of St. Peter for the Ponte Sant'Angelo, on the commission of Pope Clement VII, and was involved, in a subsidiary capacity, in the execution of non-figurated carvings for the papal monuments of Bandinelli in S. Maria sopra Minerva. Lorenzetto, whose interest as a sculptor derives solely from his contact with Raphael, died in 1541. Vasari describes Lorenzetto's activity in Rome as a decorator and architect and as a restorer of antiques, and records that the garden of Cardinal della Valle, for which Lorenzetto was responsible, and which

was decorated with antique figures and reliefs, had a formative influence on taste in Rome.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Venturi (X-i, pp. 302-16).

*Plate 41: THE CHIGI CHAPEL*  
S. Maria del Popolo, Rome

The funerary chapel designed by Raphael for Agostino Chigi in S. Maria del Popolo is described in Vasari's life of Raphael: 'Fece l'ordine delle architetture delle stalle de' Ghigi; e nella chiesa di Santa Maria del Popolo, l'ordine della cappella di Agostino sopradetto: nella quale, oltre che la dipinse, diede ordine che si facesse una maravigliosa sepoltura; ed a Lorenzetto scultor fiorentino fece lavorar due figure, che sono ancora in casa sua al macello de' Corbi in Roma' (He designed the architecture of the stables of the Chigi, and also the chapel of the above-mentioned Agostino in the church of S. Maria del Popolo; in this, as well as painting it, he had a marvellous tomb made, having Lorenzetto, the Florentine sculptor, carry out two figures, which are still in his house in the Macello de'

Corbi in Rome). A second, more detailed reference occurs in Vasari's life of Lorenzetto: 'Dopo essendogli allogata da Agostino Ghigi, per ordine di Raffaello da Urbino, la sua sepoltura in Santa Maria del Popolo, dove aveva fabricato una cappella, Lorenzo si mise a questa opera con tutto quello studio, diligenza e fatica che mai gli fu possibile, per uscirne con lode, per piacere a Raffaello, dal quale poteva molti favori ed aiuti sperare, e per esserne largamente rimunerato dalla liberalità d'Agostino, uomo ricchissimo. Nè cotali fatiche furono se non benissimo spese, perchè aiutato dal giudizio di Raffaello condusse a perfezione quelle figure; cioè un Iona ignudo, uscito del ventre del pesce, per la resurrezione de' morti, ed uno Elia che col vaso d'acqua e col pane subcinerizio vive di grazia sotto il ginepro. Queste statue, dunque, furono da Lorenzo a tutto suo potere con arte e diligenza a somma bellezza finite; ma egli non ne conseguì già quel premio che il bisogno della sua famiglia e tante fatiche meritavano, perciocchè avendo la morte chiusi gli occhi ad Agostino e quasi in un medesimo tempo a Raffaello, le dette figure per la poca pietà degli eredi d'Agostino se gli rimasero in bottega, dove stettono molti anni. Pure oggi sono state messe in opera nella detta chiesa di Santa Maria del Popolo, alla detta sepoltura' (He was commissioned by Agostino Chigi, on the instructions of Raphael of Urbino, to make his tomb in S. Maria del Popolo, where he had built a chapel. Lorenzo applied himself to this work with all possible zeal, diligence and labour, so that he might come out of it with credit and please Raphael, from whom he could hope for great favour and help, and also so that he might be generously rewarded by the liberality of Agostino, a very rich man. His labour was very well spent, for with Raphael's advice he brought the figures to perfection: namely, a nude Jonah delivered from the belly of the whale, symbolising the resurrection from the dead, and an Elias living by grace, with cruse of water and bread baked in the ashes, under the juniper tree. These statues, then, Lorenzo brought to completion most beautifully with all his art and diligence, but he did not at all gain the reward for them that such labour and the needs of his family deserved. For, when death closed the eyes of Agostino and, almost at the same time, those of Raphael, the figures stayed, on account of the deficient piety of Agostino's heirs, in Lorenzo's workshop and remained there for many years. Only in our own day have they been put on the tomb in the church of S. Maria del Popolo).

The early history of the sculptures in the chapel and of the tomb is reconstructed by D. Gnoli ('La sepoltura d'Agostino Chigi', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, ii, 1889, pp. 317-26). The first allusion to the chapel occurs on 28 August 1519 in the will of Agostino Chigi, who enjoined that after his death the chapel should be completed along lines of which Raphael and the goldsmith Antonio da San Marino were fully apprised. After the deaths of Raphael (6 April 1520) and Agostino Chigi (10 April 1520), Sigismondo Chigi entered into a contract with Lorenzetto for the construction of his brother Agostino's tomb. The original contract is untraced, but it is known that on 10 February 1521 Lorenzetto bound himself to construct the tomb 'decenter, ornate et magistraliter, intra 30 menses proximos a die de. cedula computan'. Between 10 July 1521 and 8 April 1522 it was agreed that Lorenzetto should execute a second

monument on the right wall of the chapel for Sigismondo Chigi. By the latter date Lorenzetto had left Rome for Florence, and both monuments were virtually complete, the little work remaining to be done on them being entrusted by Chigi's heirs to Bernardino da Viterbo. The sculptures planned for the chapel comprised, in addition to the two tombs, four statues, only two of which, the Jonah (Fig. 44) and Elias, were executed. A passage in the autobiography of Raffaello da Montelupo (Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, iv, pp. 557-8) proves that the Elias was completed in Lorenzetto's studio by this sculptor in the early years of the pontificate of Clement VII: 'Arrivati a Roma, andai a trovare li sopradetto mastro Lorenzo, che stava al macello de' Corvi. Così, parlatoli, mi parse mi vedessi volentieri, e mi disse che mi piglierebbe . . . e poi mi fece finire un'altra figura che pure era bozata asai presso al fine, coè uno Elia che sta a sedere, ed è alla capella de' Chigi al Popolo' (When we arrived in Rome, I went to find the above-mentioned Master Lorenzo, who was in the Macello de' Corvi. And when I had spoken with him, he gave me the impression of being glad to see me and told me he would employ me . . . and then he made me finish another figure which had also been sketched out almost to completion, namely a sitting Elias, and it is in the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo). In 1552, eleven years after the death of Lorenzetto (1541), the heirs of Agostino Chigi once more turned their attention to the chapel, and an assessment of the completed sculptures was prepared by Raffaello da Montelupo and Tommaso del Bosco. This shows that at that time two of the statues and one of the tombs was complete ('e diciamo che delle quattro statue che era obligato di fare ne sono fatte dua, cioè Jona e Elia, apresso delle dua piramide di che era obligato di fare troviamo esserne facta una, e se bene li mancha quelle piastre dorate in la testa de la colonna diciamo suplire per questo li tre termini che sono facti di più, e la testa di messer Agostino che sta in casa di quello che tiene la scrittura di messer Lorenzo Chigi. Così diciamo esserne facta una interamente finita de le dicte piramide o vero sepolture') (. . . and we declare that we find that one of the four statues he had undertaken to make has been made; and though the gilded medallions on the top of the column are missing, we declare that this is compensated for by the three additional terms, and by the head of Master Agostino which is in the house of Master Lorenzo Chigi's accountant. We therefore declare that one of the tombs or pyramids in question has been entirely completed). The base of the second tomb was complete, and the marble for the pyramid was available. The completion of the outstanding paintings was entrusted to Salviati, and the chapel was opened in 1554. Between the death of Agostino Chigi's son Lorenzo in 1573, and the arrival in Rome of Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VII) in 1626, Chigi interest in the chapel lapsed. A description prepared by Fabio Chigi in the latter year shows that the statues of Jonah and Elias were in the niches on the entrance wall, that the niches beside the altar were vacant, and that the left wall of the chapel was occupied by the tomb of Agostino Chigi, 'una cassa alta due braccia e mezzo, con bassorilievo di bronzo davanti e dalla testa che guarda l'entrata, essendo vacua la testa che mira l'altare. E sopra detta cassa una piramide large di pianta quanto la cassa, e che termina con la estremità nell'arco, incrostata di marmo, con

uno spatio di un tondo votio, ove poteva stare o una testa, o un'arme, e sottovi disegnata una cartella per la iscrittione' (a tomb-chest two and a half braccia high, with a bronze relief in front and on the end facing the entrance, while the end facing the altar is empty. And above this tomb-chest a pyramid, the base of which is as wide as the coffer; it finishes with its tip inside the arch and is inlaid with marble, and it has an empty circular space which would serve for a head or a coat-of-arms, and underneath this a scroll for the inscription). A drawing by Dosio in the Uffizi (reproduced by Gnoli, loc. cit.) shows the monument in this state. In 1652 Fabio Chigi became a Cardinal, and the completion of the chapel in S. Maria del Popolo was entrusted by him to Bernini, who, among much other work, transferred the Jonah to the niche to the left of the altar and supplied for the vacant niches two figures of Daniel and Habakkuk. A relief portrait was carved at this time for the medallion on Agostino Chigi's monument, the space destined for the inscription was filled in and a new inscription substituted, and the two bronze reliefs in the base were removed and replaced with coloured marble. The smaller of the two reliefs has disappeared, but the larger (Fig. 79), representing Christ and the

Woman taken in Adultery, was built into the altar of the chapel. The tomb in its modified state was for long regarded as an original work by Bernini. There can be no reasonable doubt that the design, with its use of the classical obelisk, is due to Raphael, not Lorenzetto, and it has been repeatedly suggested that the relief now on the altar also depends from a design by Raphael. Whether a drawing by Raphael does or does not lie behind Lorenzetto's relief cannot be established. It is, however, pointed out by E. Loewy ('Di alcune composizioni di Raffaello', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 2a. serie, ii, 1896, pp. 246-51) that the adulterous woman and a second female figure on the extreme left depend from corresponding figures in the Neo-Attic relief known as the Borghese Dancers in the Louvre, and that the correspondence of size and detail is such as to suggest that casts may have been employed. It cannot be assumed (as Loewy infers) that this practice would be inconsistent with Raphael's authorship of the design. The Jonah is also traditionally supposed to depend from a sketch-model by Raphael. The subject of the bronze relief has been explained alternatively as Christ and the Woman of Samaria.

## ANDREA SANSOVINO

(b. ca. 1467; d. 1529)

According to Vasari (1568), Sansovino was born about 1460, was the son of a labourer, Domenico Contucci of Monte San Savino, and was trained by Antonio Pollajuolo. It has, however, been established (Girolami) that Andrea's father was named Niccolò di Menco de' Mucci, that his parents married in June 1465, and that he had an elder brother Piero; his birth must therefore have occurred ca. 1467-70. Vasari (1550) gives his date of birth as 1471. His name was inscribed in the *Arte dei Maestri di pietra e legname* in 1491. There is no visual evidence to support Andrea's supposed apprenticeship with Pollajuolo, and it is unlikely that he was trained in the shop of a bronze sculptor. His first major documented work is the Baptism of Christ on the Baptistry in Florence (see Plate 43 below), and the reconstruction of his style before this time rests on Vasari's statements that he modelled terracotta heads of Galba and Nero and two terracotta altarpieces for Monte San Savino, carved two capitals for the sacristy of S. Spirito, where he was also employed in the ante-sacristy, was subsequently entrusted with the Corbinelli altar in S. Spirito, and afterwards worked for nine years in Portugal. The terracotta head of Galba, apparently glazed at Caffagiolo, is in the Casa Vasari at Arezzo, and is consistent in handling with an enamelled terracotta Virgin and Child with four Saints in S. Chiara at Monte San Savino, but there is some doubt whether these are early or late works. The affinities of the Corbinelli altar (begun after 1485, probably ca. 1490) are with two contemporary altars carved by Andrea Ferrucci for Fiesole (Duomo, Fiesole, and Victoria & Albert Museum, London), and it is possible that

Andrea Sansovino, like Andrea Ferrucci, was trained in the Ferrucci studio. A tabernacle in S. Margherita a Montici appears to have been carved at this or at a somewhat earlier time. None of the works ascribed to Sansovino in Portugal can be reconciled with the style of these two works, and it has been questioned (Girolami) whether Vasari's account of a period of activity in Portugal is correct. Stylistically there is no break between the Corbinelli altar and the tabernacle and Sansovino's next documented work, a baptismal font at Volterra (commissioned 9 June 1502). The Baptism of Christ on the Baptistry in Florence and the statues of the Baptist and the Virgin and Child in the Cathedral at Genoa (see Plate 42 below) mark the emergence of Sansovino as a large-scale sculptor. Sansovino married on 26 May 1504, and in that year was commissioned to undertake the Altar of the Sacrament in the Duomo in Florence and a statue of the Redeemer for the Sala del Gran Consiglio. In the course of the year 1505 he moved from Florence to Rome, and on 6 December 1505 arranged for the transport to Rome of marble from Avenza for use in the Sforza and Basso monuments in S. Maria del Popolo (see Plate 44 below). In Rome he carved the pedimental group on Giuliano da Sangallo's façade of S. Maria dell'Anima (1507?), and the group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne in S. Agostino (1512, see Plate 48 below). In the latter year he was allocated two of the statues of apostles for the Duomo in Florence (SS. Thaddeus and Matthew). Appointed Capo e maestro generale della fabbrica Loretana by Leo X (22 June 1513), he was thereafter largely occupied with the decoration of the Holy House (see Plate 46

below). In 1523 and 1524 he was active at Monte San Savino, and he returned there when he left Loreto on 29 June 1527. Sansovino's death took place between 30 March and 11 April 1529.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The standard monograph on Andrea Sansovino (G. H. Huntley, *Andrea Sansovino*, Cambridge, 1935) must be used in conjunction with a documentary article by C. Girolami ('In margine ad una monografia su Andrea Sansovino,' in *Atti e memorie della Reale Accademia Petrarca di lettere, arti e scienze*, XXX-XXXI, 1941, Arezzo, 1942). For the documentation of Sansovino's early work see especially Fabriczy ('Ein unbekanntes Jugendwerk Andrea Sansovinos,' in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXVII, 1906, pp. 79-105). The Galba relief is discussed by Girolami ('Il Porsenna e il Galba di Andrea Sansovino,' in *Rivista d'Arte*, xviii, 1936, pp. 179-91) and A. del Vita ('Di una ceramica di Andrea Sansovino,' in *Bulletino d'Arte*, xii, 1919, pp. 30-2). The available misinformation on Sansovino's activity in Portugal is assembled by Battelli (*Il Sansovino in Portogallo*, Coimbra, 1929). Sansovino's drawings are analysed by Middeldorf (in *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, n.f. x, 1933, pp. 138-46, *Art Bulletin*, xvi, 1934, pp. 107-15, and *Burlington Magazine*, lx, 1932, pp. 236-45, and lxiv, 1934, pp. 159-64).

**Plate 42: VIRGIN AND CHILD AND ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST**  
Duomo, Genoa

The two statues by Sansovino in the Cappella di S. Giovanni in the Duomo at Genoa are mentioned by Vasari (1568): 'fu quasi forzato andare a Genova; dove fece due figure di marmo, un Cristo ed una Nostra Donna, ovvero San Giovanni, le quali sono veramente lodatissime' ( . . . he was more or less forced to go to Genoa, where he made two marble figures, a Christ and a Madonna, or rather St. John Baptist; and they are very praiseworthy indeed). The two figures occupy niches on the facing wall to right and left of the altar of the Chapel, and are inscribed on their bases SANSOVINVS FLORENTINVS FACIEBAT. The commission for the chapel of S. Giovanni was awarded on 4 May 1448 to Domenico Gaggini (*La Cattedrale di Genova*, n.d., Turin), and work on its construction continued till 1465. In 1494 Giovanni d'Aria da Como was commissioned to cover the lateral walls with marble and to prepare niches for statues (Alizeri, *Guida illustrativa del Cittadino e del forestiero per la città di Genova*, Genoa, 1875, p. 17). Through the good offices of Davide Grillo, the Genoese commissioner at Sarzana, the statues for the Chapel were commissioned from Matteo Civitali, who supplied six figures representing (left) Isaiah, Elizabeth, and Eve, and (right) Habakkuk, Zacharias, and Adam. There is no evidence that the Virgin and Child and the Baptist, which were necessary to complete this programme, were commissioned from Civitali, but this is probable. The date 1496 is inscribed beneath the lunette reliefs of the Banquet of Herod and the Decollation of the Baptist, which seem to have been carved in the workshop of Civitali. The corresponding reliefs on the facing wall are by Pace Gaggini. On Civitali's death in

1501 the contract for the missing figures was presumably transferred to Sansovino. When Louis XII of France entered Genoa and visited the Cathedral on 29 August 1502, Jean d'Autun recorded the presence of two empty niches on the altar wall. The statues were completed by the end of 1503, since on 13 January 1504 the Dieci di Balia in Florence sent a formal notification of the despatch of the figures through Pisan territory to Genoa (Gaye, ii, p. 62): 'E si trova qui uno Andrea dal monte a Sto. Savino, scultore, quale ha lavorato certe figure di marmo per Genova; et per condurre decte figure, che saranno due, a luogo destinato, ha obtenuto salvocondotto da' Pisani, per mezzo de' Genovesi, di poter condurre decte figure in Pisa' (And Master Andrea from Monte a Sansovino, the sculptor, is here, and he has carved some marble figures for Genoa; and to bring these figures, which are two in number, to their destination, he has obtained through the Genoese a safe-conduct from the Pisans, so that he can bring these figures to Pisa).

**Plate 43: THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST**  
Baptistry, Florence

The group of the Baptism of Christ over the central (eastern) door of the Baptistry, is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Arrivato in Fiorenza, cominciò nel MD un San Giovanni di marmo che battezza Cristo, il quale aveva a essere messo sopra la porta del tempio di San Giovanni, che è verso la Misericordia; ma non lo finì, perchè fu quasi forzata andare a Genova. . . . E quelle di Firenze così imperfette si rimasano, ed ancor oggi si ritrovano nell'Opera di San Giovanni detto' (After his arrival in Florence, he began in 1500 a marble group of St. John baptizing Christ, to be put above the door of the Temple of S. Giovanni that faces the Misericordia; but he did not finish it because he was more or less forced to go to Genoa. . . . And those figures at Florence remained in this way unfinished, and they are still in the office of works of S. Giovanni today). The figures of Christ and St. John are alone mentioned in the documents, and were originally destined as replacement for the marble group of the Baptism of Christ by Tino di Camaino over the south door of the Baptistry. On 28 April 1502 the Consiglio dell'Arte de' Mercanti agreed that a contract for 'la figura di Nostro Signore e quella di San Giovanni Battista, quando si battezorono, di marmo' should be awarded to Andrea Sansovino, and on 29 April 1502 the agreement was signed. The last payments for the figures date from 31 January 1505 (for this and other documents see Milanesi, 'Documenti riguardanti le statue di marmo e di bronzo fatte per le porte di San Giovanni da Firenze da Andrea del Monte San Savino e da Giovanni Francesco Rustici,' in *Giornale storico degli archivi toscani*, 1860, iv, pp. 63-75). On 27 January 1511 orders were given that the two marble statues should be transferred from the Opera di S. Maria del Fiore to the Opera di S. Giovanni (Frey, *Vasari*, i, 1911, pp. 347-8), and at the time of the second edition of Vasari's *Vite* (1568) they were still in the Opera di S. Giovanni. Between this date and the publication of Borghini's *Riposo* (1584), the figures were installed over the central (east) door of the Baptistry. The relevant passage in Borghini

reads as follows: 'Ma di cui furon mano da principio le due statue sopra la porta di S. Giovanni, che mi sembrano molto belli, dove è Cristo battezzato da S. Giovanni? Furon fatte da Andrea dal Monte a Sansovino (rispose il Sirigatto) ma perchè egli non le lasciò del tutto finite, le finì poi Vincenzio Danti Perugino, come sapete, e son degne di considerazione, come si vede' (But by whose hand was a beginning made on the two statues, which seem to me very fine, over the door of S. Giovanni, the ones in which Christ is shown being baptised by St. John? They were made by Andrea dal Monte a Sansovino, answered Sirigatto, but as he did not leave them quite finished, Vincenzo Danti of Perugia completed them later, as you know; and they deserve to be admired, as you see). According to the *Diario* of Lapini, the figures were exhibited in their present position on 23 June 1569. The presence of a third figure, an angel holding a towel, is first mentioned by Lapini (for this see Paatz, 'Seit wann gehört zu Sansovinos Taufgruppe am Baptisterium eine Engelfigur?', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, iv, 1933, p. 141). A statement of Huntley (pp. 44-8) that the figure of an angel is first mentioned by Del Migliore (*Firenze città nobilissima*, Florence, 1684, p. 91) is incorrect. The angel is variously described as made of stucco and terracotta, and was presumably executed by Danti. In 1791 (Follini-Rastrelli, *Firenze antica e moderna*, Florence, 1791, iii, p. 30) this angel was removed, and the present marble Angel by Innocenzo Spinazzi was installed in the following year. The extent of the work undertaken by Vincenzo Danti on Sansovino's two figures cannot be determined. It is presumed by Paatz (ii, p. 198) that the tabernacle and columns behind the group were planned by Andrea Sansovino. In form the tabernacle is ill adapted to a two figure group, and seems, like the Rustici tabernacle over the north door, to presume the presence of a third figure which is not mentioned in the documents. The suspension of work on the group appears to have been due to Sansovino's departure for Rome, and not to the commission for the Genoa statues (see Plate 42 above), which were carved in Florence.

Plates 44, 45: MONUMENTS OF CARDINALS  
ASCANIO SFORZA AND GIROLAMO BASSO  
DELLA ROVERE  
S. Maria del Popolo, Rome

The monument of Ascanio Sforza (d. 28 May 1505) is situated on the left wall of the choir of S. Maria del Popolo (Fig. 57). Its central section is constructed in the form of a triumphal arch, with, in the centre, an effigy of the Cardinal reclining on a sarcophagus raised on a rectangular base inscribed, on a circular slab in the centre: ANDREAS SANSOVINVS FACIEBAT. Above is a lunette of the Virgin and Child. At the sides in niches are statuettes of (left) Justice and (right) Prudence, with above seated figures of (left) Faith and (right) Hope. Above the central element is a seated figure of God the Father flanked by candle-bearing angels. The base is decorated at the sides with the Cardinal's arms and impresa. In the centre is a recessed slab inscribed with the words:

DOM

ASCANIO MARIAE SF. VICECOMITI FRANCISCI SFORTIAE  
IN SVBR: DVCIS F. DIACONI CARD: S.R.E. VICECANCELLAR  
IN SECUNDIS REB: MODERATO INADVERSIS SVMMO VIRO  
VIX. ANN: L. MENS: II.D.XXV  
IVLIVS II PONT: MAX: VIRTVTVM MEMOR. HONESTISSIMA  
CONTENTIONVM OBLITVS SACELLO A FVNDAMENTO:  
ERECTO  
POSVIT M.D.V.

(To Ascanio Maria Sforza Visconti, son of the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, Cardinal Deacon, Vice-chancellor of the Holy Church of Rome. Modest in good fortune, he was yet an excellent man in adversity. He lived 50 years, 2 months and 25 days. Pope Julius II, remembering his qualities and forgetting their disagreements, when this chapel was being built from its foundation, put up this monument. 1505.)

In the corresponding position on the right wall of the choir is the monument of Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere (d. 1507) (Fig. 58). This is similar in scheme to the Sforza tomb save that in the centre the direction of the effigy is reversed and the relief of the Virgin and Child in the lunette is differently composed. The lateral niches are filled by figures of (left) Fortitude and (right) Temperance, with, above, seated figures of Faith and Hope which differ in pose from the corresponding figures on the Sforza tomb. In the base is the inscription:

DOM

HIERONYMO BASSO SAVONENSI XISTI IIII PONT. MAX.  
SORORIS FILIO EPISCOPO SABINENSI CARD. RICINAT  
IN OMNI VITA CONSTANTI INTEGRO RELIGIOSO  
IVLIVS. II. PONT. MAX. AMITINO SVO B.M. POSVIT  
M.D.VII.

(To Girolamo Basso of Savona, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV, Bishop of Recanati, and Cardinal of Santa Sabina. In his whole life he was steadfast, virtuous and devout. Pope Julius II erected this in memory of his worthy cousin. 1507).

The history of the Sforza monument can be reconstructed in some detail. The project for the tomb is first mentioned in a brief of 12 June 1505 (Vatican libr. brev. 22, f. 327, summarised by Pastor, iii, p. 783 n.), in which Pope Julius II informs Gundisalvo Fernandi, Duke of Terranova, of his intention to erect a tomb to the memory of his erstwhile adversary Ascanio Sforza. Sforza, a son of Francesco Sforza and a brother of Lodovico il Moro, had been taken prisoner by the Venetians and the French in 1500 and had returned to Rome after the election of the Pope. The reference to adversity in the epitaph on the monument is an allusion to this fact. The marble for the monument was forthwith selected at Carrara (safe conduct of 16 October 1505), was shipped from Avenza to Rome (6 December 1505), and was granted a papal safe-conduct on its arrival (28 December 1505). Though Girolamo Basso della Rovere did not die until 1507, it is likely that the second monument was constructed concurrently with or immediately after the Sforza tomb. Both tombs must have been completed by 3 June 1509, since they are mentioned by Francesco Albertini (*Francisci Albertini Opusculum de Mirabilibus novae urbis Romae*, ed. Schmarsow, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 45: 'In ecclesia S. Mariae de Populo sunt multa sepulchra

Cardinalium variis picturis et statuis exornata. In maiori vero capella sunt duo sepulchra marmorea pulcherrima, quae tua sanctitas Ascano Mariae, Vicecancellario, et Hieronymo Saonensi Card. ben. mer. posuit manu Andreae Sansuini Flor. excell. statuarii? (In the church of S. Maria del Popolo there are a large number of tombs of cardinals, decorated with various paintings and statues. But in the larger chapel there are two particularly fine marble tombs which Your Holiness had raised, by Andrea Sansovino, the distinguished Florentine sculptor, for Ascanio Maria Sforza, the Vice-chancellor, and for the worthy Cardinal Girolamo of Savona). Some supplementary information on the second monument is supplied by Mazzini (in *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, v, 1904, pp. 438-40). O. Förster (Bramante, Vienna, 1956, pp. 206-8) plausibly suggests that the Pope's motives for assuming responsibility for the construction of the Sforza monument were in part political. There was, however, a secondary motive, in that the two tombs formed part of a large scale remodelling of the choir of S. Maria del Popolo undertaken by Bramante at about this time. Thus on 29 May 1509 the Pope authorised a payment of 'Duc. venti tre, b. septe e mezzo . . . a m. Alberto da Piacenza per coprire la tribuna della cappella facta in Sancta Maria del Populo secondo l'ordine e stima di maestro Bramante.' The frescoes undertaken by Pinturicchio on the roof of the choir in 1509-10 and the glass windows commissioned from Guillaume de Marcillat formed an integral part of the same scheme. In these circumstances the question arises whether Bramante was not responsible for, or did not exercise some influence upon, the scheme of the two tombs. This view is rejected without argument by Huntley, who regards the scheme of the monuments as a development from that of the Corbinelli altar, but is argued with some force by Geymüller (*Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom*, Vienna/Paris, 1875, pp. 82-5) and is accepted among others by Bertaux (*Rome*, Paris, 1916, p. 7) and Förster (loc. cit.). Geymüller's case rests (i) on formal analysis of the monuments, (ii) on the close connection between Ascanio Sforza and Bramante in Lombardy, and (iii) on the later collaboration of Bramante and Sansovino at Loreto (see Plate 46 below). The two tombs are described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Fu poi condotto a Roma da Papa Giulio II, e fattogli allogazione di due sepolture di marmo poste in Santa Maria del Popolo, cioè una per il cardinale Ascanio Sforza, e l'altra per il cardinale di Ricanati, strettissimo parente del papa; le quali opere così perfettamente da Andrea furono finite, che più non si potrebbe desiderare, perchè così sono elleno di nettezza, di bellezza e di grazia, ben finite e ben condotte, che in esse si scorge l'osservanza e le misure dell'arte. Vi si vede anco una Temperanza che ha in mano un oriolo da polvere, che è tenuta cosa divina; e nel vero, non pare cosa moderna, ma antica e perfettissima: ed ancora che altre ve ne siano simili a questa, ella nondimeno, per l'attitudine e grazia, è molto migliore; senza che non può esser più vago e bello un velo ch'ell' ha intorno, lavorata con tanta leggiadria, che il vederlo è un miracolo' (He was then summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II, and was given the commission for two marble tombs put in S. Maria del Popolo: one for Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, the other for the Cardinal of Recanati, a close relative

of the Pope. These works were finished by Andrea so perfectly, that one could desire no more; for they are so well finished and carried out, and with such purity, beauty and grace, that one recognises in them the rules and measure of art. You see there too a figure of Temperance, holding an hour-glass in her hand, which is considered to be a god-like work; and indeed it does not seem a modern work, but ancient and quite perfect. And although there are other figures there like it, it is much the best because of its attitude and grace; and besides, nothing could be more charming and beautiful than the veil she has round her, done with such delicacy that it is marvellous to see). A sheet containing a putative preparatory drawing or alternative scheme for the Sforza monument (Victoria & Albert Museum, London) is published by U. Middeldorf ('Two Drawings by Andrea Sansovino', in *Burlington Magazine*, lxiv, 1934, pp. 159-64).

Plates 46, 47: THE HOLY HOUSE  
Duomo, Loreto

The Holy House is a rectangular structure punctuated at the sides and ends by Corinthian columns, and decorated with reliefs of scenes from the life of the Virgin and niches containing statues and statuettes. The reliefs are as follows:

*North face (left) The Birth of the Virgin.* Begun by Baccio Bandinelli (1524-5), completed by Raffaello da Montelupo (1533).

*(right) The Marriage of the Virgin.* Begun by Andrea Sansovino (1524), one quadro finished by 24 June 1527 and completed by Tribolo (1533), second quadro carved by Tribolo (1533) from Andrea Sansovino's model.

*West face (above) The Annunciation.* Carved by Andrea Sansovino, one quadro carved between 23 November 1518 and 30 December 1520, second quadro begun 1520 and completed May 1524.

*(below left) The Visitation.* Carved by Raffaello da Montelupo (completed 1533).

*(below right) The Virgin and St. Joseph completing the Census.* Carved by Francesco da Sangallo (completed 1533).

*South face (left) The Annunciation to the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Shepherds.* Carved by Andrea Sansovino, one quadro carved between 23 November 1518 and 30 December 1520, second quadro begun 1520 and completed May 1524.

*(right) The Adoration of the Magi.* Carved by Raffaello da Montelupo (completed 1533).

*East face (above) The Dormition of the Virgin.* Carved by Domenico Aimo, initially at Loreto (1520-1523) and subsequently at Ancona (1523 till 5 August 1525). Later (1536) finished by Domenico Aimo, Tribolo and Francesco da Sangallo.

*(below) The Translation of the Holy House.* One quadro carved by Tribolo (1533), the other by Francesco da Sangallo (1533).

The design of the Holy House is due to Bramante, and appears to be contemporary with the strengthening of the cupola of the Cathedral (1509) and the designing of the Palazzo Apostolico (1510). In 1510 a model for the Holy House was prepared to

Bramante's design by Antonio Peregrini (for this and other documents see Vogel, *De Ecclesiis Recanatensi et Lauretana*, Recanati, 1859, i, p. 256, and H. von Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sanct Peter in Rom von Bramante*, Vienna/Paris, 1875, pp. 93–6). Following a visit paid by Julius II to Loreto in June 1511 to see 'le ruine e le fabbriche intraprese dal suo architetto nominato Bramante o piuttosto Rovinante' (Paris de Grassi), the task of superintending the work was entrusted to the sculptor Gian Cristoforo Romano; at this time it was intended that he should also be responsible for carving the reliefs. Gian Cristoforo Romano died on 31 May 1512, and was succeeded as 'architector et reveditor de la fabrica' by Pietro Amoroso. In 1507 the Sanctuary had been removed by Julius II from the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Recanati, and in 1512 Antonio del Monte was appointed first Cardinal Protector of the shrine. On 22 June 1513 a brief was issued nominating Andrea Sansovino not merely to undertake the carvings of the Holy House, but as the successor of Amoroso. It has been inferred from the terms of the appointment that Sansovino was not compelled to follow Bramante's designs for the Holy House, but this is hypothetical. Sansovino was paid at the rate of 15 gold ducats a month when at Loreto or on official business elsewhere, and was allowed a four month vacation each year at a reduced salary of 6 ducats. Documents show that he was in residence at Loreto after 6 February 1514. At the end of 1514 the progress of work was, however, thought to be unsatisfactory, and on 8 December 1514 Cardinal Bibbiena was appointed as Cardinal Protector. From this time on Sansovino's administrative responsibilities seem to have declined. On 18 January 1517 Antonio da Sangallo was ordered by Pope Leo X to inspect and report on the work at Loreto, and following this visit Sansovino was deposed from his position as Capomaestro and replaced by Cristoforo Resse, retaining control of the sculpture. The position is defined in a brief of 20 January 1521 naming Sansovino as 'capo maestro dell'opera del scarpello, tanto nell'adornamento de la cappella, quanto in ogni altra cosa dove havera intervenire lo scarpello'. Following this administrative change, Sansovino's salary was reduced by one third. The decoration of the Holy House may have been begun as early as 1513 (Vogel), when marble for it was obtained from Carrara, but work on the figure sculptures started only in 1517–18. Probably at this time, though possibly not before 1520, Domenico Aimo da Varignana joined Sansovino at Loreto. Baccio Bandinelli also moved to Loreto at about this time. Loreto was greatly disliked by the artists who were required to work there – it is described by Gian Cristoforo Romano as 'quanto tiene il tempio, bestialissimo quanto si puo dire' – and after a time both Domenico Aimo and Bandinelli moved to Ancona with the sculptures on which they were engaged, the former at the end of 1523 and the latter in 1524–5. The extent to which Bandinelli was responsible for the design of his own relief is not made clear. According to Vasari, 'Baccio, fatto il modello, dette principio all'opera: ma come persona che non sapeva comportare compagnia e parità, e poco lodava le cose d'altri, cominciò a biasimare con gli altri scultori che v'erano, l'opera di maestro Andrea, e dire che non aveva disegno; ed il simigliante diceva degli altri: intanto che in breve tempo si fece mal volere da tutti' (Baccio, when he had

made the model, began the work; but, because he was a person who could not endure a colleague or an equal, and praised other men's works little, he began to disparage the works of Master Andrea to the other sculptors who were there, saying he had no power of design; and he said the same of the others, so that he very soon made himself disliked by everybody). Other sculptors whose names occur in connection with the Holy House at about this time are Benedetto da Rovezzano, Ranieri Nerucci da Pisa, and Simone Cioli. Bandinelli abandoned his relief in Ancona in an unfinished state ('la quale storia, o vero due quadri, non li ha finiti, come al presente si vegano in la nostra chiesa lauretana'). After the death of Pope Leo X, and the election as Pope of Adrian VI, the funds from the sanctuary were diverted to Rome, and work on the Holy House and Duomo ceased. At this time (1522-3) Sansovino was absent at Monte San Savino. On the election of Clement VII, Giuliano Ridolfi was reappointed as protector of the sanctuary, and Sansovino was confirmed as Capomaestro delle sculture, with extended powers which in effect gave him full control. In 1523-4 he entered into abortive negotiations with Michelangelo, offering to work in a subordinate capacity under Michelangelo in Florence. He was at Loreto spasmodically in 1525 and 1526; the last record of his presence there is on 29 June 1527. At the time of the Sack of Rome the entire resources of the treasury were diverted to the Pope, and activity at Loreto temporarily ceased. After the death of Sansovino and the re-establishment of papal authority, work on the Holy House was resumed. In October 1533 Raffaello da Montelupo received 1,500 ducats for the relief of the Adoration of the Magi 'fatto da tutto punto da lui', 600 ducats for finishing the Birth of the Virgin and 400 for a small relief of the Visitation. At the same time Tribolo received 250 ducats for completing the quadro of the Sposalizio left unfinished by Sansovino, 750 ducats for the remaining quadro of this scene, 350 ducats for five putti, and 750 ducats for one quadro of the Translation of the Holy House. Francesco da San Gallo received 740 ducats for the second quadro of the Translation of the Holy House and 400 ducats for the small scene of the Virgin and St. Joseph registering at the Census. Between 1533 and 1535 Simone Cioli was paid for ornamental carving and one marble putto, and on 31 December 1536 sums of 400 ducats were paid jointly to Domenico Aimo, Tribolo and Francesco da Sangallo for completing the Dormition of the Virgin and 140 ducats to Tribolo, Raffaello da Montelupo and Francesco da Sangallo for two further putti. The monumental casing of the House was installed in 1532-4, and the balustrade was added in 1537. The twenty niches on the four faces were still vacant at this time, and were later filled with ten seated Sibyls and ten Prophets by Giovanni Battista and Tommaso della Porta, and Girolamo and Aurelio Lombardo. Four of the Lombardo prophets were executed between 1543 and 1548. The bronze doors on the north and south sides of the Holy House, containing eight scenes from the life of Christ, were executed by Girolamo and Lodovico Lombardo, Tiburzio Vergelli and Antonio Calcagni between 1568 and 1576. Of the narrative scenes which form the most important sculptural feature of the monument the Annunciation and Annunciation to the Shepherds and Adoration of the Shepherds are auto-

graph works by Andrea Sansovino. The left half of the Marriage of the Virgin was completed by Andrea Sansovino, with the exception of the figure of St. Joseph which is by Tribolo, and the right half of this scene was carved by Tribolo to Sansovino's design. On stylistic grounds it seems reasonably certain that the schemes of the Birth of the Virgin and the Dormition of the Virgin (though not the formulation of the figures) also originated with Andrea Sansovino; the presence in the Uffizi (Huntley) of drawings by Bandinelli related to the Birth of the Virgin does not in itself constitute an argument against this view. It is possible that the right half of the Adoration of the Magi was also planned by Sansovino. Three reliefs, the Translation of the Holy House, the Visitation, and the Virgin and St. Joseph completing the Census reveal no trace of Sansovino's style. Sansovino's reliefs are described by Vasari, whose information on the authorship of individual scenes is, however, inexact. The importance of Sansovino's scenes, and especially of the Annunciation, for Florentine style in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, transpires from a letter written by Vasari in August 1570 (Frey, *Vasaris literarische Nachlass*, ii, No. DCCXLVII): 'Crederei che chi volesse durar fatica a trovare qualche bel casamento, come fece M. Andrea Sansovino a Loreto, nella facciata dinanzi la cappella della Madonna, in quella sua Nunciata, dov'è un casamento di colonne in piedistalli, gittando archi, fa un isfuggimento di trafori molto bello, ricco e vario; oltre che quell'angelo che è accompagnato d'altri che volano, ed a più con esso, ed in aria quelle nuvole piene di fanciulli, che fa un vedere miracoloso, con quello Spirito Santo' (I think that someone who is willing to exert himself can contrive as fine a setting as Master Andrea Sansovino did at Loreto, on the side of the Chapel of the Madonna. In that Annunciation of his there is a setting of columns on pedestals, throwing out arches, which makes a very fine and rich and varied sequence of apertures; not to mention the angel accompanied with others flying and walking, and the clouds full of boys in the air, which, with the Holy Spirit, makes a marvellous sight).

**Plate 48: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ST. ANNE**  
S. Agostino, Rome

The group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne, now situated in the second chapel on the left of the church of S. Agostino, is signed on its base: ANDREAS. DEMONTE SANSOVINO. On the plinth, which is carved separately from the main figure are the words:

IESV DEO DEIQ: FILIO MATRI  
VIRGINI. ANNAE AVIAE MATERNAE  
IO: CORICIVS EX GERMANIS  
LVCVMBVRG: PROT: APOST: DDD:  
PERPETVO SACRIFICIO DOTEM  
VASA VESTES TRIBVIT MDXII

(To Jesus, God and Son of God, to the Virgin his Mother, and to Anne his grandmother, Johann Goritz from Germany, native of Luxemburg, Apostolic Protonotary, gives and dedicates this. As endowment he makes over goods in perpetual sacrifice. 1512).

The group was originally set beneath Raphael's fresco of Isaiah against the third pier on the left of the nave of the church, and is described in this position by Vasari: 'Fece di marmo in Santo Agostino di Roma, cioè in un pilastro a mezzo la chiesa, una Sant' Anna che tiene in collo una Nostra Donna con Cristo, di grandezza poco meno che il vivo; la quale opera si può fra le moderne tenere per ottima; perchè sì come si vede nella vecchia una viva allegrezza e proprio naturale, e nella Madonna una bellezza divina; così la figura del fanciullo Cristo è tanto ben fatta, che niun' altra fu mai condotta simile a quella di perfezione e di leggiadria; onde merito che per tanti anni si frequentasse d'appicarvi sonetti, ed altri vari e dotti componimenti, che i frati di quel luogo hanno un libro pieno, il quale ho veduto io con non piccola maraviglia. E di vero ebbe ragione il mondo di così fare, perciocchè non si può tanto lodare questa opera, che basti' (In S. Agostino at Rome, on a pilaster in the middle of the church, he did a group in marble of St. Anne with her arm round the neck of a Madonna with the Child, little less than life-size. One may well consider this work to be the best in modern times; because just as one sees in the old woman a lively and altogether natural happiness, and in the Madonna a divine beauty, so the figure of the Infant Christ is done so well that no other was ever carried out with such perfection and delicacy. For this reason it was fitting that for so many years people came to attach to it sonnets and various other compositions; the friars of that place have a book full of them, which I have seen myself with considerable astonishment. And truly the world was right to do this, because one can never praise this work enough). Johann Goritz, protonotary apostolic, by whom the present group and Raphael's Isaiah were commissioned, was a native of Luxembourg, and formed the centre of a humanist circle frequented by Sadoletto, Bembo, Castiglione, Giovio, Erasmus and other notable figures of the time. The commissions to Raphael for the Isaiah and to Andrea Sansovino for the present group form a manifestation of Goritz' devotion to St. Anne. The fresco bears a Greek dedication to St. Anne, the Virgin and Christ, and the Hebrew scroll held by the Prophet is inscribed with Isaiah xxvi, 2 ('Open ye the gates that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter'). According to Vasari, Raphael's fresco was remodelled in the spirit of the Sistine ceiling of Michelangelo. The first half of the Sistine ceiling was disclosed in August 1510, but it is possible that the reference is to the later Prophets on the ceiling. There is a presumption that Sansovino's statue and Raphael's fresco were commissioned simultaneously. Goritz (for whom see Pastor, iv-2, p. 429, and D. Gnoli, 'Le origine di maestro Pasquino', estratto dalla *Nuova Antologia*, xxv, ser. iii, 1890, pp. 25-8) customarily entertained at his Vigna above the Forum of Trajan on the feast of St. Anne (26 July), and on this occasion poems were delivered by his fellow humanists both to his villa, where they were attached to lemon trees and classical sculptures, and to S. Agostino, where they were attached to boards set up before Sansovino's group. Not long after the completion of the group the four boards were increased to five. In 1524 a selection of the poems (in which the work of a hundred and thirty poets is represented) was printed under the title *Coriciana* (Rome, dated July, 1524).

# JACOPO SANSOVINO

(b. 1486; d. 1570)

Jacopo Tatti was born in Florence, and baptised on 3 July 1486. In 1502 he entered the workshop of Andrea Sansovino, whose name he assumed, and in 1505–6 he followed Andrea to Rome, where he was engaged principally on the restoration of antiques, made a copy of the Laocoön, and may have assisted Andrea Sansovino in work on the S. Maria del Popolo monuments. In Rome he attracted the notice of Bramante and Raphael, and made a wax model of the Deposition for the use of Perugino (now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London). In 1511 he returned to Florence, where he received commissions for the St. James in the Duomo (Plate 51 below) and the Bacchus in the Museo Nazionale (Plate 50 below). At this time he participated in the decorations for the entry of Pope Leo X (1515). As a result of these he appears to have been promised a share in the sculptural decoration of the façade of S. Lorenzo, but his proposed participation was rejected by Michelangelo, to whom he wrote a bitter letter of protest on 30 June 1517. Returning to Rome in 1518, he undertook a number of sculptures, of which the most important are the Madonna del Parto in S. Agostino (see Plate 49 below), the St. James for S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, now in S. Maria di Monserrato (1519–20?) and the tomb of the Cardinal of S. Angelo (d. 1511) in S. Marcello (Fig. 62). In the year of the Sack (1527) he moved from Rome to Venice, which he may already have visited in 1523 before the death of Cardinal Grimani (27 August 1523). At this time he was responsible for the monument of Gelasio Nichesola (d. 2 September 1527) in the Duomo at Verona, the Virgin and Child from which was reproduced in Sansovino's workshop as a bronze statuette (examples at Leningrad, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and elsewhere). In 1528 he was charged with the completion of a relief begun by Antonio Minelli for the chapel of St. Anthony in the Santo at Padua (final payment 1534). A letter of Pietro Aretino of 6 October 1527 refers to a project for a statue of Venus to be carved by Sansovino for Federigo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. Sansovino appears to have visited Mantua in 1528–9, and in the latter year became Protomagister of St. Mark's. A statue of the Virgin and Child at the entrance to the Arsenale is signed and dated 1534. A stucco relief with a Sacra Conversazione in Berlin must have been executed about this time, since a figure from it was copied by Sansovino's pupil Tiziano Minio (1536). On 3 June 1536 Sansovino signed the contract for a second marble relief for Padua (see Plate 112 below). To this period belong the tribune reliefs in St. Mark's (see Plate 111 below), the Loggetta (see Plates 108–9 below), and the commencement of work on the sacristy door of St. Mark's (see Plate 110 below). The four bronze Evangelists on the balustrade of the high altar of St. Mark's were installed on 30 January 1553. To the fifties belong a number of marble sculptures which include the much damaged Hercules at Brescello (commissioned by Ercole II d'Este in 1550), the

Neptune and Mars on the Scala dei Giganti of the Palazzo Ducale (see Plate 113 below), and the Venier monument in S. Salvatore (1556–61) (Fig. 105) as well as the Rangone monument on the façade of S. Giuliano (see Plate 116 below). Throughout the whole of his residence in Venice Sansovino was also active as an architect. He died on 27 November 1570.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The contemporary sources for Sansovino's career are headed by Vasari (edition of Lorenzetti, Florence, 1913). None of the modern monographs on Sansovino is worthy of its theme; the most interesting is that of Weihrauch (*Studien zum bildnerischen Werke des Jacopo Sansovino*, Strassburg, 1935), and the best illustrated is an otherwise unreliable volume by L. Pittoni (*Jacopo Sansovino scultore*, Venice, 1909). For a criticism of the latter book see Lorenzetti (in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xx, 1910, pp. 318–40). A good chapter on Sansovino in Planiscig's *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (Vienna, 1921, pp. 349–86) is vitiated by the inclusion of a number of wrongly attributed bronze and terracotta statuettes, mainly in Viennese private collections. For Sansovino's part in the Florentine decorations of 1515 and his relations with Raphael and Andrea del Sarto see Pope-Hennessy (in *Burlington Magazine*, ci, 1959, pp. 4–10).

*Plate 49: VIRGIN AND CHILD*  
S. Agostino, Rome

The Virgin and Child, known as the Madonna del Parto, is noted by Vasari: 'E così avendo tolta a fare per Giovan Francesci Martelli fiorentino una Nostra Donna di marmo, maggiore del naturale, la condusse bellissima col putto in braccio; e fu posta sopra un altare dentro alla porta principale di Santo Agostino, quando s'entra, a man ritta. Il modello di terra della quale statua donò al prior di Roma de' Salviati, che lo pose in una cappella del suo palazzo sul canto della piazza di San Piero al principio di Borgo nuovo' (And so, having agreed to make a Virgin in marble above life size for Giovan Francesco Martelli, he made it most beautiful with the Child in her arm; and it was placed on an altar inside the main entrance of S. Agostino, to the right as one goes in. He gave the terracotta model of this statue to the Prior of Rome Salviati, who placed it in a chapel in his palace at the side of the Piazza di S. Pietro at the beginning of the Borgo Nuovo). Sansovino is last mentioned in Florence in May 1518, and arrived in Rome before 15 December of this year. Vasari's text implies that the commission for the Madonna del Parto preceded that for the St. James in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, and it was therefore presumably commissioned in 1518–9. If Vasari is correct in stating that the two statues were carved while Sansovino was

engaged on the rebuilding of S. Marcello (reconstructed after the fire of 22 May 1519), work on the group is likely to have continued through 1520. The classical prototype on which the figure of the Virgin is based – perhaps an Agrippina – has not been identified. The connection of the drapery forms with those of a painting by Fra Bartolommeo in the Uffizi (Weihrauch) is remote. The niche in which the figure rests was designed by Sansovino.

*Plate 50: BACCHUS*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

Vasari, after describing a marble Venus made by Sansovino in Florence for Giovanni Gaddi, two putti made for Giovanni Francesco Ridolfi, and a fireplace with representations of Vulcan and other deities made for Bindi Altoviti, continues as follows: 'Per lo che Giovanni Bartolini, avendo fatto murare nel suo giardino di Gualfonda una casotta, volse che il Sansovino gli facesse di marmo un Bacco giovinetto, quanto il vivo: perchè dal Sansovino fattone il modello, piacque tanto a Giovanni, che, fattogli consegnare il marmo, Iacopo lo cominciò con tanta voglia, che lavorando volava con le mani e con l'ingegno. Studiò, dico, quest'opera di maniera, per farla perfetta, che si mise a ritrarre dal vivo, ancor che fusse di verno, un suo garzone, chiamato Pippo del Fabbro, facendolo stare ignudo buona parte del giorno. Condotta la sua statua al suo fine, fu tenuta la più bella opera che fusse mai fatta da maestro moderno, atteso che 'l Sansovino mostrò in essa una difficoltà, non più usata, nel fare spiccato intorno un braccio in aria che tiene una tazza del medesimo marmo, traforata tra le dita tanto sottilmente, che se ne tien molto poco; oltre che per ogni verso è tanto ben disposta ed accordata quella attitudine, e tanto ben proporzionate e belle le gambe e le braccia attaccate a quel torso, che pare, nel vederlo e toccarlo, molto più simile alla carne; intanto che quel nome, che gli ha, da chi lo vede, se gli conviene, ed ancor molto più. Quest'opera, dico, finita che fu, mentre che visse Giovanni, fu visitata in quel cortile di Gualfonda da tutti i terrazzani e forestieri, e molto lodata. Ma poi, essendo Giovanni morto, Gherardo Bartolini suo fratello la donò al duca Cosimo; il quale come cosa rara la tiene nelle sue stanze, con altre bellissime statue che ha di marmo' (For this reason Giovanni Bartolini, who had had a house built in his garden of Gualfonda, wanted Sansovino to make him a young Bacchus in marble, life-size. When Sansovino had made the model for it, Giovanni liked it so much, that he had him supplied with the marble, and Iacopo began it with such enthusiasm that his hands and brain flew as he worked. He took such pains, I say, over this work in order to make it perfect, that he set himself to portray from the life, even though it was winter, an assistant of his called Pippo del Fabbro, making him stand naked for a good part of the day. When the statue had been completed, it was considered the most beautiful work ever to have been made by a modern master; for Sansovino displays in it a difficulty not elsewhere tried, making an arm, detached on each side and raised in the air, which holds a cup made of the same marble and so finely hollowed out between the fingers,

that the contact is very slight. Besides, the attitude is so well composed and balanced on every side, and the legs and arms attached to the torso are so well proportioned, that it seems, both to see and to touch, much more like living flesh; so the reputation it has among all who see it is deserved, and even much more. This work, I say, when it was finished, while Giovanni was alive, was visited in the courtyard of Gualfonda by every native and foreigner and much praised. But later, when Giovanni was dead, Gherardo Bartolini his brother gave it to Duke Cosimo, who keeps it as a rare thing in his private rooms, together with other most beautiful marble statues of his). The statue was gravely damaged by fire in 1762, but was subsequently pieced together into its present state, and in 1880 was transferred from the Uffizi to the Museo Nazionale. The Giunti edition of Vasari (III-ii, c. 795), contains a supplementary account of the statue and of Pippo del Fabbro, from whom it was modelled: 'Il quale Pippo sarebbe riuscito valente uomo, perchè si sforzava con ogni fatica d'imitare il maestro: ma o fusse lo star nudo e con la testa scoperta in quella stagione, o pure il troppo studiare e patir disagi, non fu finito il Bacco che egli impassò in sulla maniera del fare l'attitudini; e lo mostrò, perchè un giorno che pioveva dirottamente chiamando il Sansovino Pippo, ed egli non rispondendo, lo vide poi salito sopra il tetto in cima d'un camino ignudo che faceva l'attitudine del suo Bacco. Altre volte pigliando lenzuola o altri panni grandi, i quali bagnati se li recava addosso all'ignudo, come fusse un modello di terra o cenci, e acconciava le pieghe; poi salendo in certi luoghi strani, e arrecandosi in attitudini or d'una or d'altra maniera di profeta, d' apostolo, di soldato o d'altro, si faceva ritrarre, stando così lo spazio di due ore, senza favellare, e non altrimenti che se fosse stato una statua, immobile. Molte altre simili piacevoli pazzie fece il povero Pippo; ma sopra tutto, mai non si potè dimenticare il Bacco che aveva fatti il Sansovino, se non quando in pochi anni si morì' (This Pippo would have turned out a capable fellow, for he was striving with every effort to imitate his master; but, whether from standing naked with his head uncovered at that season, or from studying too much and suffering discomforts, before the Bacchus was finished he went mad and took to copying the poses of the figure. He did so one day when it was pouring with rain. When Sansovino called out 'Pippo', he did not answer, and Sansovino saw him finally, mounted on the top of a chimney on the roof, naked and striking the pose of his Bacchus. On other occasions he took a sheet or other large piece of cloth, wetted it, wrapped it round his naked body, as if he were a model of clay or rags, and arranged the folds; then, climbing up into various odd places, and settling himself into one and another attitude – as a Prophet, Apostle, warrior or something else – he would have himself drawn, standing in this way without speaking for as long as two hours at a time, just as if he had been a motionless statue. Poor Pippo played many other amusing mad tricks of this kind; but, above all, he could never forget the Bacchus that Sansovino had made, until he died a few years later). It is clear from Vasari's account that the Bacchus was produced after Sansovino's return to Florence (1511) and before his second departure for Rome (1518); a dating between 1511 and 1514 is presumed by Lorenzetti and Planiscig, and a

dating between 1513 and 1518 by Weihrauch. The statue can, however, be assigned with complete confidence to the years 1511-12, since payment for it was made in the latter year (document cited by L. Ginori Lisci, *Gualfonda: un antico palazzo ed un giardino scomparso*, Florence, 1953: 'Jacopo d'antonio detto el sansovino schultore . . . per fattura d'uno bacco di marmo con suo marmo fece a Giovanni Bartolini'). It was set up in 1519 in the garden courtyard on a red and white marble base by Benedetto da Rovezzano.

**Plate 51: SAINT JAMES THE GREAT**  
Duomo, Florence

The contract between the Opera del Duomo and Michelangelo for the provision of twelve over life-size statues of Apostles for the Duomo (see Plate 14 above) was abrogated on 18 December 1505, and no further action regarding the statues seems to have been taken for six years. In 1511, however, the project was revived, according to Vasari at the instance of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and on 2 June 1511 a statue of St. James the Great was commissioned from Jacopo Sansovino. A year later, on 28 December 1512, two figures of SS. Matthew and Thaddeus were commissioned from Andrea Sansovino, who was then working in Rome; the contract for these statues (for which see Fabriczy, 'Ein unbekanntes Jugendwerk Andrea Sansovinos', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxvii, 1906, pp. 88-9) was conditional upon ratification by the sculptor in a period of two months, and neither figure was executed. On 28 September 1512 a fourth figure, St. John the Evangelist, was commissioned from Benedetto da Rovezzano. Shortly afterwards, on 15 October 1512, a statue of St. Andrew was allotted to Andrea Ferrucci, and in 1515 an attempt was made to procure another statue from Ferrucci. On 25 January 1515, on the intervention of Giuliano de' Medici, a St. Peter was allotted to Bandinelli. At this point the commissions were allowed to lapse, and the figures remained in the Opera del Duomo until, in 1565, on the instructions of Cosimo I, the interior of the church was whitewashed for the marriage of Joanna of Austria and Francesco de' Medici, and the four completed figures were temporarily installed. The coloured marble tabernacles in which they are now shown were designed in 1563-65 by Ammanati. Thereafter four further figures were commissioned, two from Giovanni Bandini and two from Vincenzo de' Rossi. The eight figures are now displayed as follows:

- (i) *Last pier of nave on left*. Jacopo Sansovino: St. James (see below).
- (ii) *Last pier of nave on right*. Vincenzo de' Rossi: St. Matthew (installed 1580).
- (iii) *Right entrance wall of right tribune*. Giovanni Bandini: St. Philip (completed before 12 October 1577, when the construction of the tabernacle was begun).
- (iv) *Left entrance wall of right tribune*. Giovanni Bandini: St. James the Less (completed before 22 October 1576, when the construction of the tabernacle was begun).

(v) *Right entrance wall of central tribune*. Benedetto da Rovezzano: St. John the Evangelist (Fig. 43) (contract dated 28 September 1512, statue assessed 30 October 1513).

(vi) *Left entrance wall of central tribune*. Baccio Bandinelli: St. Peter (Fig. 41) (contract dated 25 January 1515, statue assessed by Lorenzo di Credi 4 June 1517. Exhibited between 1565 and 1580 in the position now occupied by Vincenzo de' Rossi's St. Matthew, as a counterpart to the St. James of Sansovino).

(vii) *Right entrance wall of left tribune*. Andrea Ferrucci: St. Andrew (Fig. 42) (contract dated 13 October 1512, presumably completed by 1514).

(viii) *Left entrance wall of right tribune*. Vincenzo de' Rossi: St. Thomas (undocumented: prior to 1580).

Letters written by Ammanati to the Grand-Duke in 1563 reveal considerable hesitancy on the part of the Florentine Academicians at the Grand-Duke's proposal to instal the four completed figures in the Cathedral. In a letter of 8 October 1563 (for this see Gaye, iii, pp. 118-20) Ammanati expresses the opinion that only two of the figures, the St. James of Sansovino and the St. Peter of Bandinelli, deserved to be placed in the Cathedral, a view which was reaffirmed by the painter Bronzino. In the same letter he draws attention to the difficulty of devising tabernacles which would conform to the architecture of the church: 'ma che era ben vero che le figure belle davano tanto diletto che le si comportavano in ogni luogo, e che havendole pure a mettere, bisognava far un basamento solo per la figura: ma perchè dubito ch'ella non paia povera, farò un modelletto e mandarollo a V.E.I., et ella lo giudicherà' (I said . . . that it was certainly true the beautiful figures gave such pleasure that they went well in any position, and since they had to be put somewhere it was necessary to make simply a base for the figure. But as I suspect the appearance may be poor, I will make a small model and send it for Your Highness to judge). On 6 November 1563 Ammanati reported to the Grand-Duke (Gaye, iii, p. 122) that he had placed the matter before a meeting of the Academy: 'Dissi che le due figure manco buone non ce le metterei, e che per ragione d'architettura non si poteva legar nulla a quei pilastri, ma che il men male era mettervele, non ci sendo luogo più comodo, e le buone figure fanno bel veder per tutto. Dissi che io avevo fatto un modelletto, e un'altro presso che finito del modo del porle' (I said that I would not put the two less good figures there, and that for architectural reasons one could not fix anything to the pilasters; but that the least bad solution was to put them there, as there was no more suitable place, and good figures look fine anywhere. I said I had made one small model and almost finished another, showing how to place them). At this meeting Francesco da San Gallo seems to have proposed that the unfinished St. Matthew of Michelangelo should also be shown in the church. Finally, on 22 December 1563 (Gaye, iii, pp. 123-4), Ammanati informed the Grand-Duke that he and Francesco da Sangallo had placed alternative models for the tabernacles before the Academy; these had been discussed in the absence of the two sculptors, and his own had been selected, and would therefore be submitted for approval to the Grand-Duke.

From the beginning it was accepted that Sansovino's St. James

was superior to the other statues. Thus it is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Onde, fatto il modello d'un San Iacopo, il quale modello ebbe (finito che fu l'opera) messer Bindo Altoviti, cominciò quella figura, e continuando di lavorarla con ogni diligenza e studio, la condusse a fine tanto perfettamente, che ella è figura miracolosa, e mostra in tutte le parti essere stata lavorata con incredibile studio e diligenza ne' panni, nelle braccia e mani traforate, e condotte con tant'arte, e con tanta grazia, che non si può nel marmo veder meglio. Onde il Sansovino mostrò in che modo si lavoravano i panni traforati, avendo quelli condotti tanto sottilmente e sì naturali, che in alcuni luoghi ha campato nel marmo la grossezza che'l naturale fa nelle pieghe, ed in su' lembi, e nella fine de' vivagni del panno: modo difficile, e che vuole gran tempo e pacienza, a volere che riesca in modo che mostri la perfezione dell'arte' (So, having made the model of a St. James – a model which Messer Bindo Altoviti had when the work was finished – he began the figure and, continuing to work on it with all diligence and care, he carried it through so perfectly, that it is a miraculous figure and shows in every part that it was worked with incredible care and diligence in the drapery and the undercut

arms and hands; they are carried through with such art and such grace, that there is nothing better to be seen done in marble. In this way Sansovino showed how undercut drapery should be worked, having made it so delicately and naturally, that in some places he has managed to get in the marble the natural thickness of the folds, edges and hem of the cloth; this is a difficult procedure, and needs much time and patience if you wish it to succeed in showing the perfection of art). In contrast to this passage Vasari praises the St. Peter of Bandinelli in terms of studied moderation ('benchè non con tutta la perfezione della scultura, nondimeno si vede in lui buon disegno'), which are only slightly less cool than those applied to the St. John the Evangelist of Benedetto da Rovezzano ('figura assai ragionevole e lavorata con buon disegno e pratica') and the St. Andrew of Ferrucci ('Andrea, dunque, condusse la sua con più bella pratica e giudizio che con disegno: e n'acquistò, se non lode quanto gli altri, nome di assai buono e pratico maestro'). The St. James of Sansovino (for the documents concerning which see Weihrauch, pp. 88–9) was moved on 26 May 1513 from the Spedale di S. Onofrio, where it had been carved, to the Opera del Duomo, and was completed in 1518.

## GIOVANNI DA NOLA

(b. ca. 1488; d. 1558)

Giovanni da Nola, or Giovanni da Mirigliano (so-called from his birthplace Marigliano, a town in the province of Caserta not far from Nola), was trained initially by the wood-carver Pietro Belverte (d. 1513). A reference in the will of Tommaso Malvito (2 July 1508) shows that at this time he was already active as a marble sculptor, carving the frame of a door for the Hospice of the Annunziata. Giovanni da Nola's name is mentioned in receipts for payments issued by Belverte at this time. The most important of Giovanni da Nola's early works in wood is the Nativity group in S. Maria del Parto, Naples. A celebrated letter from Summonte in Naples to Marcantonio Michiel in Venice of March 1524 mentions that at this time Giovanni da Nola was engaged on the tomb of Don Ramon da Cardona (probably begun 1522). In 1528 he completed the high altar of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, and about 1530 the tomb of Antonia Gaudino in S. Chiara. A lost figure of Medea slaying her Children is praised in an epigram by Iano Anysio (1531–2). In 1535 Giovanni da Nola prepared the clay model for the tomb of Guida Fieramosca (d. 1532) for Montecassino. The altarpieces of the Liguoro Chapel in the church of Monteoliveto at Naples (1532) and the Chapel of the Madonna della Neve in S. Domenico (1536) date from this time. In 1539 he received the commission for the three tombs of Jacopo, Sigismondo and Ascanio Sanseverino in SS. Severino e Sossio (final payment 1546), some of his most original sepulchral monuments, and these appear to have been followed by the monument of Don Pedro da Toledo (see Plate 52 below). The

relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ in S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli (see Plate 54 below) was executed after 1540 and before 1549. The last recorded payment to Giovanni da Nola, in connection with work on the high altar of S. Patrizia, dates from 1551.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** De Rinaldis ('Note su Giovanni da Nola,' in *Napoli Nobilissima*, n.s. ii, 1921, pp. 16–20), Venturi (X-i, pp. 715–44), Weise ('Il problema dell'opera personale di Giovanni da Nola,' in *Bollettino di Storia dell'Arte dell'Istituto Universitario di Magistero, Salerno*, ii, 1952, pp. 65–79), and especially Morisani (in *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, n.s. xxvii, 1941, pp. 283–327).

*Plate 52: MONUMENT OF DON PEDRO DA TOLEDO*  
S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, Naples

The monument (Fig. 64) has the form of a raised platform, at the corners of which are figures of Justice, Prudence, Temperance and Fortitude. In the centre, on an elevated plinth, are the kneeling figures of Don Pedro da Toledo and his wife, Maria Osorio Pimentel. Beneath them is the inscription:

PETRVS TOLETVS  
FREDERICI DVCIS ALVE FILIUS  
MARCHIO VILLE FRANCHE REG. NEAP. PROREX

TVRCAR. HOSTIVMQ. OMNIVM SPESVBLATA  
 RESTITVTA IVSTITIA VRBE MENIS ARCE FOROQ.  
 AVCTA MVNITA ET EXORNATA DENIQ. TOTO REG. DIVITIIS  
 ET HILARI SECVRITATE REPLETO MONVMNTVM  
 VIVENS IN ECCLESIA DOTATA  
 ET A FVNDAMENTIS ERECTA PON. MAN.  
 VIXIT ANN. LXXXIII REXIT XXI OB. MDLIII VII KAL.  
 FEBRVARII  
 MARIE OSORIO PIMENTEL CONIVGIS CLARIS IMAGO  
 GARSIA REG. SICILIE PROREX MARISQ.  
 PREFECTVS PARENTIB. OPT. P. MDLXX.

Round the sides and back are three reliefs representing (i) Don Pedro da Toledo's expedition of 1538 against the Turks, (ii) an operation in the waters of Baia in 1544 against the pirate Barbarossa, (iii) Don Pedro da Toledo awaiting the Emperor Charles V by the Porta Capuana (1535). Don Pedro, the father-in-law of the Grand-Duke Cosimo I, died at Florence, and was buried in the Duomo, where his tomb still survives. The tomb in Naples is described by Vasari: 'A costui (Giovanni da Nola) fece lavorare Don Pietro da Toledo, marchese di Villafranca, ed allora vicere di Napoli, una sepoltura di marmo per se e per la sua donna: nella quale opera fece Giovanni una infinita di storie delle vittorie ottenute da quel signore contra i Turchi, con molte statue che sono in quell'opera tutta isolata e condotta con molta diligenza. Doveva questo sepolcro esser portato in Ispagna; ma non avendo ciò fatto mentre visse quel signore si rimase in Napoli' (From him Don Pietro da Toledo, marquess of Villafranca, and at that time Viceroy of Naples, commissioned a marble tomb for himself and his wife. In this work Giovanni made an infinite number of stories of the victories won by the viceroy against the Turks, with many statues in the work which stands isolated and is conducted with great diligence. This tomb was to have been transported to Spain; but since Don

Pietro had not arranged for this while he was alive, it remained in Naples). According to another passage in Vasari, the marble for the monument was sent to Naples by Cosimo I from the quarries at Pietrasanta. The inscription on the front of the monument confirms that it was ordered in the Viceroy's lifetime, and Vasari's statement that it was destined to be sent to Spain may be correct. It is not mentioned by De Stefano in a description (1560) of S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, and must therefore have been installed in the church by Don Garzia da Toledo between this year and 1570, the date inscribed on the monument. A poem by Tansillo cited by Croce ('Memorie degli Spagnuoli nella città di Napoli,' in *Napoli Nobilissima*, iii, 1894, pp. 122-4) throws little light on the date of the commission, which was presumably awarded after the date of the latest of the scenes shown in the reliefs (1544). The quality of the portrait statues is consistently high, and attempts to assign them to Giovanni da Nola's workshop (Frizzoni and others) appear to be unwarranted.

Plate 54: THE LAMENTATION OVER  
 THE DEAD CHRIST  
 S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli, Naples

The Altar of the Deposition in S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli (for which see Filangieri, *Santa Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli*, Naples, 1888, pp. 120-9) consists of a richly carved architectural surround with, in the centre, a relief of the Lamentation over the Dead Christ, of which the lower half is fully figurated and the upper half shows the three vacant crosses with ladders against them. It forms part of the funerary chapel of the Giustiniani family, and was endowed by Nicoletta Spinola in 1549.

GIROLAMO SANTACROCE  
 (b. ca. 1502; d. 1537)

The birth-date of Girolamo Santacroce is deducible from a passage in the celebrated letter written by Summonte to Marcantonio Michiel in March 1524, in which the sculptor is described as 'di anni circa ventidue . . . che prima fu aurifice; poi s'è voltato in marmo con tanta excellenzia de ingegno che senza dubbio, vivendo, sarà grande nella sua arte'. According to Summonte, he had at this time made a marble statue of Apollo (lost) and a medal of Sannazaro (for this and for a contemporary medal by Santacroce of Andrea Caraffa see Hill, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini*, London, 1930, No. 350). It has been claimed (Venturi, on the basis of documents published by Filangieri, *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane*, Naples, 1891) that in 1517 Santacroce was employed on the monument of Giovanni Antonio Caracciolo in the church of the Annunziata, Naples,

and (De Rinaldis) that he worked in 1517-8 in the Caracciolo di Vico Chapel in S. Giovanni a Carbonara as an assistant of Ordonez. The sources of his style are, however, the work of Giovanni Tommaso Malvito and the Neapolitan sculptures of Benedetto da Maiano (Vol. II, p. 308). In 1520 he went, with his associate Gian Giacomo da Brescia, to Carrara, where he was engaged, in conjunction with Raffaello da Montelupo, in carving two statues of Doctors of the Church for the Ximenes de Cisneros monument at Alcala de Henares. Returning to Naples in 1522, he assumed responsibility, on 7 February 1525, with Gian Giacomo da Brescia and Antonio Caccavello, for an altar in S. Domenico, and in 1526 designed an Altar of the Sacrament for the Annunziata. His principal work of this time, the Del Pezzo Altar in S. Anna dei Lombardi, is inscribed with the date 1524, and was presumably begun in this year. The Sini-

scalco Altar in S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli, with a relief of the Incredulity of St. Thomas, was certainly executed after 1528, and perhaps in 1536 (Padiglione, *Memorie storiche artistiche del tempio di S. Maria delle Grazie*, Naples, 1855, p. 101). A relief of St. Jerome from a disassembled altar is in S. Agnello a Caponapoli. The latest of Santacroce's surviving works is the monument of Carlo Gesualdo in the Museo di S. Martino, Naples.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** De Rinaldis' edition of Vasari's life of Santacroce (Florence, 1912), Borselli Angelo (*Gerolamo Santacroce*, Naples, 1924), and the relevant chapter of Venturi (X-i, pp. 745-57). The best critical account of Santacroce's work is that of Morisani ('Geronimo Santacroce,' in *Archivio storico napoletano*, n.s. xxx, 1944-6, pp. 3-17). For the letter of Summonte see Nicolini (*L'arte napoletana del rinascimento e la lettera di P. Summonte a M. A. Michiel*, Naples, 1925) and for the

Ximenes de Cisneros monument Justi (in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xii, 1891, pp. 66-90).

*Plate 53: VIRGIN AND CHILD*  
S. Maria a Cappella Vecchia, Naples

The figure, along with statues of SS. John the Baptist and Benedict, formed part of an altar carved by Santacroce for S. Maria a Cappella Vecchia, which was broken up in the seventeenth century, when two statues were transferred to the church of the Ascension. In style it is related (Morisani) to a Virgin and Child by Giovanni Tommaso Malvito in S. Maria delle Grazie a Caponapoli. The statues are traditionally supposed to have been commissioned by Abbate Commendatario Fabrizio di Gennaro (d. 1541), who was responsible for the restoration of the church (1506).

## FRANCESCO DA SANGALLO

(b. 1494; d. 1576)

Son of the architect and sculptor Giuliano da Sangallo, Francesco was born on 1 March 1494. At the age of ten he was taken by his father to Rome (1504), where he was present (1506) at the identification of the Laocoon. A letter written towards the close of Sangallo's life (1567) describes this event (for this see C. Fea, *Miscellanea filologica critica e antiquaria*, Rome, 1790, p. 329). His earliest dated work is a Virgin and Child with St. Anne in Or San Michele of 1522-26 (see Plate 56 below). It has been plausibly suggested (Middeldorf) that a bust Giovanni delle Bande Nere (d. 1526) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and a standing figure of St. John the Baptist, formerly ascribed to Donatello, in the same museum, date from about this time. In 1531-3 Francesco was active at Loreto, where he worked, with Tribolo, on a relief of the Dormition of the Virgin for the Holy House. He took part in the preparation of decorations for the entry of Charles V into Florence in 1536, and in 1540 was commissioned to carve the tomb of the Abbess Colomba Ghezzi (formerly in S. Martino alla Scala, now in the Museo Bardini). A self-portrait relief in S. Maria Primerana at Fiesole is dated 1542. At this or at a rather earlier time he was active in St. Peter's, Rome, and in 1543 succeeded Baccio d'Agnolo as Capomaestro and architect of the Duomo in Florence. In 1540 he received the commission for the monument of Antonio Fiodo in the church of Monteoliveto at Naples (executed in collaboration with Bernardino del Boro da Siena), and in 1546 was engaged in work for SS. Severino e Sosio at Naples. The Marzi monument in the Annunziata (see Plate 55 below) dates from this year. Outside Florence Francesco was also responsible for statues of SS. Peter and Paul for the monument of Piero di Lorenzo de' Medici in the Badia at Montecassino (commissioned 1532, statues completed 1547, installed 1559). In 1552 he was engaged on a fountain for the Villa di Papa Giulio in Rome. The impressive tomb slab of Leonardo Bonafede (d. 1545) in the

Certosa di Galluzzo was commissioned in 1539 and completed in 1550, and was followed by the monument of Paolo Giovio (d. 1552) in the cloister of S. Lorenzo (dated 1560, installed 1575). Francesco's last work is a relief of Francesco del Fede in S. Maria Primerana at Fiesole (1575). He died on 17 February 1576.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The standard account of the work of Francesco da Sangallo is that of Middeldorf (in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, xxix, 1935, pp. 404-6). A later article by Middeldorf ('Portraits by Francesco da Sangallo,' in *Art Quarterly*, i, 1938, pp. 109-38) deals with Sangallo's sepulchral monuments as well as with his portrait busts. Venturi (X-i, pp. 243-59) includes a clever, and in the main acceptable, survey of Francesco da Sangallo's style, and provides a useful corpus of illustrations. An unsophisticated volume by G. Clusse (*Les San Gallo: iii, Florence et les derniers San Gallo*, Paris, 1902, pp. 139-261) contains some peripheral material not available elsewhere. New ground is broken by D. Heikamp in an article ('Ein Madonnenrelief von Francesco da Sangallo,' in *Berichte aus den ehem. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, n.f. viii, 1958, pp. 34-40), correctly identifying a terracotta Virgin and Child in Berlin, currently ascribed to Jacopo Sansovino, as a study for a lost marble relief by Francesco da Sangallo described in a letter of Niccolò Martelli of 14 November 1546.

*Plate 55: MONUMENT OF ANGELO MARZI,  
BISHOP OF ASSISI*  
SS. Annunziata, Florence

Signed on the base: FRANCISCVS IVLIANI SANGALLI FACIEB.

M.D.XLVI. The monument, which is set on the left of the presbytery of the church, shows a life-image of Marzi reclining on a high plinth with a heavy moulding. The front of the sarcophagus contains an incised epitaph flanked by coats of arms, which reads: ANGELVS MARTIVS ASSISIENSIS/EPVS. AC XXXIVI ANOS A SECRETIS AVG/VSTAE MEDICVM DOMVS ILLIVS Q ALVNVS/ET IN EAM OB PROBITATEM FIDEMQ A SCITVS/HOC SIBI VIVENS SEPVLCHRVM CONFECIT/DEFVNCTVS VT SIBI VIVAT CVM ANTE MO/RTEM AMICIS . VIXIT AN. LXX . OBIIT/ANN. D. M.D.XXXVI. (Angelo Marzi, Bishop of Assisi, who was for 34 years secretary to the noble family of the Medici and member of their household, and was known in it for his honesty and fidelity, had this tomb made for himself while he was still alive in order that, when he died, he might go on living with the friends of his lifetime. He lived 70 years and died in 1546). Angelo Marzi (for whom see Clausse, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-7) was born at San Gimignano in 1476. After a period as private chancellor of Piero Soderini, he served as secretary successively to Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici (Pope Leo X), Giuliano de' Medici, duc de Nemours, and Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino. After the election of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici as Pope Clement VII, he was appointed Bishop of Assisi, and was subsequently closely associated with Alessandro and Cosimo I de' Medici, officiating in 1541 at the baptism of Francesco de' Medici. In reward for his services to the Medici, he was allowed to assimilate the Medici arms in the form shown in the stemme on the monument. The style of the monument is defined by Middeldorf as 'eine völlige Absage an den klassischen Stil des Sansovino und eine rückhaltlose Hingabe an den Realismus'.

**Plate 56: VIRGIN AND CHILD WITH ST. ANNE**  
Or San Michele, Florence

Signed on the belt of St. Anne: FRANCISCVS FACIEBAT, and dated on the back of the socle MDXXVI. The cult of St. Anne in Florence derived its popularity from the expulsion of the Duke of Athens on the feast of St. Anne 1343. An altar to St. Anne was erected in Or San Michele in the following year. Francesco da Sangallo's group was commissioned on 12 February 1522 (for the relevant document see Milanesi, in Vasari, vii, p. 624) in substitution for a wooden group of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne which then stood on the altar. The original wooden altar was replaced by the present marble altar in 1586. The group is described by Vasari: 'le tre figure di marmo alquanto maggiori del vivo, che sono sopra l'altare della chiesa d'Orsanmichele, Sant'Anna, la Vergine e Cristo fanciullo, che sono molto lodate figure' (the three marble figures of St. Anne, the Virgin and the Infant Christ, a little larger than life, which stand over the altar of the church of Orsanmichele and are very much praised). The iconography of the figure and its relation to the group of the same subject by Andrea Sansovino (see Plate 48 above) are discussed by H. Riegel ('Die Darstellungen des heiligen Anne selbdritt, besonders zu Florenz,' in *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Italiens*, Dresden, 1898, pp. 117-8). A sound formal analysis of the group is supplied by H. Hoffmann (*Hoch-Renaissance, Manierismus, Frühbarock*, Zurich, 1939, pp. 105-6). For the relation of the group to the Leonardo cartoon of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne and cognate drawings see L. H. Heydenreich ('La Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci', in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e. période, Tome X, 1933, pp. 205-19).

## GIOVANNI ANGELO MONTORSOLI

(b. 1507?; d. 1563)

Born in or about 1507, Montorsoli is stated by Vasari to have been trained in the shop of Andrea Ferrucci. After a brief period of employment in Rome on the fabric of St. Peter's, he appears as an assistant of Silvio Cosini in work on the Maffei monument in S. Lino at Volterra (1522). Thereafter he was employed by Michelangelo in the Medici Chapel (for Montorsoli's work in the chapel at this and at a later time see under Michelangelo). Developing a religious vocation, he was received first at the church of the Gesuati outside the Porta Pinti in Florence (1529) and subsequently (1530-1) became a member of the Servite order at the Annunziata, where he modelled wax votive portraits of members of the Medici family to replace those destroyed in 1528. In 1532 he was recommended by Michelangelo to undertake the restoration of the Laocoön and other antiques for Pope Clement VII, of whom he carved a portrait (lost). His second period of activity in the Medici Chapel (when he carved the statue of St. Cosmas) dates from after this time. To the fifteen-thirties belong a number of commissions, of which the most important are for a kneeling figure of Alessandro

de' Medici in the Annunziata, large stucco statues of Moses and St. Paul for the Sala del Capitolo of the Servi, and the tomb of Angelo Aretino (d. 1522) in S. Pietro at Arezzo. After participating in the preparations for the entry of Charles V into Florence in 1536, Montorsoli later in the year visited Naples, where he received the commission for the Sannazaro monument in S. Maria del Parto (Fig. 63) (executed in Tuscany in conjunction with Ammanati). The tomb of Mauro Maffei in the Duomo at Volterra dates from 1536-7, and at about the same time Montorsoli started work on a marble group of Hercules and Antaeus for the garden at Castello (see Plate 59 below). In 1539 he was commissioned to complete Bandinelli's unfinished statue of Andrea Doria at Genoa (of which fragments survive), and in 1543 he undertook his most important sculptural complex, the Pietà and statues in S. Matteo in Genoa and the tomb of Andrea Doria in the crypt of the same church. In 1547 he left Genoa to become Capomaestro of the Duomo at Messina, where he completed the Fountain of Orion (1550) (Fig. 97), the Altar of the Apostles in the Duomo (1552?), and

the Fountain of Neptune (1557, see Plate 57 below). Between 1558 and 1561 he was employed at Bologna on the high altar of the Servi (Fig. 71). He died on 31 August 1563.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Competent surveys of Montorsoli's work are given by Vasari, and by Venturi (X-ii, pp. 107-53). His style has, however, received less detailed study than it deserves, and the critical literature of the Genoa sculptures is specially inadequate. For the Sannazaro monument see Ciardi Dupré ('La prima attività dell' Ammanati scultore', in *Paragone*, 1961, No. 135, pp. 7-13), and for the Messina sculptures S. Bottari ('Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli a Messina', in *L'Arte*, xxxi, 1928, pp. 234-45).

*Plate 57: THE FOUNTAIN OF NEPTUNE*  
Messina

The later of the two fountains executed by Montorsoli at Messina, the Fountain of Neptune (Fig. 96), was commissioned for a position in the harbour, and is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'E perchè ella piacque molto a' Messinesi, glieno fecono fare un'altra in sulla marina, dov'è la dogana, la quale riuscì anch'essa bella e ricchissima; ed ancor che quella similmente sia a otto facce, è nondimeno diversa della sopradetta; perciocchè questa ha quattro facce di scale che sagliono tre gradi, e quattro altre minori messe tonde, sopra le quali, dico, è la fonte in otto facce: e le sponde della fontana grande disotto hanno al pari di loro in ogni angolo un piedistallo intagliato, e nelle facce della parte dinanzi un altro in mezzo a quattro di esse. Dalla parte poi, dove sono le scale tonde, è un pilo di marmo aovato, nel quale per due maschere, che sono nel parapetto sotto le sponde intagliate, si getta acqua in molta copia; e nel mezzo del bagno di questa fontana è un basamento alto a proporzione, sopra il quale è l'arme di Carlo quinto, ed in ciascun angolo di detto basamento è un cavallo marino, che fra le zampe schizza acqua in alto; e nel fregio del medesimo sotto la cornice, di sopra sono otto mascheroni che

gettano all'ingiù otto polle d'acqua; ed in cima è un Nettuno di braccia cinque, il quale avendo il tridente in mano, posa la gamba ritta accanto a un delfino. Sono poi dalle bande, sopra due altri basamenti, Scilla e Cariddi in forma di due mostri, molto ben fatti, con teste di cane e di Furie intorno' (As it greatly pleased the people of Messina, they employed Agnolo to make another on the sea shore where the customs house is, which is also rich and beautiful, and although octagonal it differs from the first, having four faces of three steps and four lesser ones, and the edges of the great fountain have a carved pedestal and another inside. By the round steps is a marble cistern, oval in shape, which receives water from two masks on the parapet below the carved edge. In the middle of the basin is a pedestal of proportionate height, with the arms of Charles V, and at the angles are sea-horses which spout water between their hooves. On the frieze under the upper cornice are eight masks spouting water, and at the top a Neptune, five braccia high, holding a trident, and a dolphin resting beside his right foot. On two side pedestals are Scylla and Charybdis as two monsters with dogs heads surrounded by furies, very well made). As noted by Wiles, the fountain has a mistilinear basin and steps. A drawing after the fountain in the Uffizi, Florence, shows the original play of water, described by Vasari, with eight jets falling from the central pedestal, and four jets rising from the hooves of the sea-horses. Both the complete fountain and the individual sculptures have been seriously damaged, the former by the earthquake of 1908, as a result of which the fountain is now beneath the level of the pavement. The figure of Neptune at present on the fountain was copied by Zappala from Montorsoli's original, and the figure of Scylla (which was damaged by a bomb in 1848 and is now in the Museo Nazionale, Messina) is a copy by Letterio Subba. Montorsoli arrived at Messina to execute the fountain of Orion (which had been allotted initially to Raffaello da Montelupo) in September 1547, and the commission for the Fountain of Neptune dates from after the completion of this work (1551?). The Neptune fountain was finished in 1557 (see Wiles, loc. cit., and S. Bottari, 'Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli a Messina', in *L'Arte*, xxxi, 1928, pp. 234-44).

**NICCOLO TRIBOLO**  
(b. 1500; d. 1550)

Born in 1500 and trained under Nanni Unghero and subsequently under Jacopo Sansovino, Tribolo is encountered as an independent artist in Rome, where he worked on the tomb of Pope Adrian VI in S. Maria dell'Anima (probably 1524) (Fig. 61). In 1525-7 he was engaged on sculptures for the façade of S. Petronio. Moving to Pisa, he collaborated with Stagio Stagi (1528). A statue of Natura in the Louvre, carved for Giovanni Battista della Palla as a stand for an antique vase and presented to Francis I of France, dates from this early time (Holderbaum). After a brief return to Florence (1529), he

established himself at Loreto, where he was employed in the decoration of the Holy House (see Plate 46 above). Summoned to Florence to assist Michelangelo in the completion of the Medici Chapel (for his share in this see Plate 24 above), he left for Venice after the death of Pope Clement VII brought work in the Chapel to an end. After a brief stay in Venice, where he again came in contact with Jacopo Sansovino, he settled in Florence, where he was extensively employed on the decorations prepared for the entry of the Emperor Charles V (1536). In the same year he contracted to carve the Assumption relief now in S. Petronio

at Bologna (see Plate 60 below). Attracting the notice of Cosimo I, he received the commission for the fountains at Castello (see Plate 59 below), and in 1546 was responsible for installing the Allegories and other sculptures in the Medici Chapel. Between 1544 and 1548 he designed the Matteo Corte monument in the Campo Santo at Pisa. He died in August or September 1550.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The chapter on Tribolo in Venturi (X-i, pp. 188-214) is competent though incomplete, and should be supplemented by reference to articles by Wiles ('Tribolo in his Michelangelesque Vein', in *Art Bulletin*, xiv, 1932, pp. 59-70) and Holderbaum ('Notes on Tribolo', in *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, pp. 336-43, 364-72). The best available account of Tribolo's style is that given in Holderbaum's articles. For the fountains see Wiles (*The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors*, Cambridge, 1933), and for Tribolo as a maker of bronze statuettes Pope-Hennessy ('A small Bronze by Tribolo', in *Burlington Magazine*, ci, 1959, pp. 85-9).

*Plate 58: PAN*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bronze, which was wrongly assigned by Planiscig to a Paduan studio of the first half of the sixteenth century, is correctly identified by Holderbaum ('Notes on Tribolo - I, A Documented Bronze by Tribolo', in *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, pp. 336-43) with a cast made from a model by Tribolo by the bronze caster Zanobi Portigiani in 1549. The relevant document (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Conventi 103, S. Marco, vol. 328) reads: 'Et a di 18 di aprile 1549 ebbe il Tribolo uno satiro di bronzo peso libbre trenta'.

*Plate 59: THE FOUNTAIN OF HERCULES*  
Villa Reale di Castello, near Florence

In the painting by Vasari of Cosimo I with the Artists of his Court (Palazzo Vecchio), Tribolo is represented holding models of his most important works, the two fountains (Figs. 92, 93) executed for the garden of the Ducal villa at Castello. The earlier and smaller, the Fountain of the Labyrinth, was transferred to the garden of the nearby villa of Petraia; the larger and later, the Fountain of Hercules, is still in place. Both fountains are described by Vasari. The Fountain of the Labyrinth rises from an octagonal basin on a small octagonal base. Over this is an element decorated with marine figures supporting a large tazza, procured from the villa of Antella and carved beneath the lip with putti and garlands. Above is an element carved with masks and figures in low relief, which was executed, according to Vasari, by Tribolo's pupil Pierino da Vinci: 'alcuni satiri di basso rilievo, e quattro maschere mezzane, e quattro putti piccoli tutti tondi che seggono sopra certi viticci' (some satyrs in low relief, four masks in half relief, and four small putti in full relief sitting on some tendrils). Vasari records Tribolo's intention that the fountain should be crowned by a bronze figure of Florence, and states that the model for this was made:

'una statua di bronzo alta tre braccia, figurata per una Fiorenza, a dimostrare che dai detti monti Asinaio e Falterona vengono l'acque dell' Arno e Mugnone a Fiorenza; della quale figura aveva fatto un bellissimo modello, che spremendosi con le mani i capelli ne faceva uscir acqua' (a bronze statue three braccia high, representing Florence, and showing that the waters of the Arno and Mugnone come to Florence from the above-mentioned Mounts Asinaio and Falterona; he had made a most beautiful model of this figure, pressing its hair with its hands to make water pour from it). A figure conforming to this description was later made for the fountain (ca. 1560-61) by Giovanni Bologna. The Fountain of Hercules is a larger and more ambitious work with richer figure carving and an ampler flow of water. In this the basin and base are again octagonal; between the base and the tazza are seven putti seated on claws. On the lip of the tazza are four bronze putti. The element above it is carved with four standing putti squeezing water from the necks of geese. Above this again is a small tazza with goat masks, and at the top, beneath the crowning group of Hercules and Antaeus, is a further base with four small seated putti. The essential parts of Vasari's description read as follows: 'sopra il quale seggono otto putti in varie attitudini, e tutti tondi e grandi quanto il vivo . . . E perchè l'aggetto della tazza, che è tonda, ha di diametro sei braccia, traboccano del pari l'acqua di tutta la fonte, versa intorno intorno una bellissima pioggia a uso di grondaia nel detto vaso a otto facce; onde i detti putti che sono in sul piede della tazza, non si bagnano, e pare che mostrino con molta vaghezza, quasi fanciullescamente essersi là entro, per non bagnarli scherzando, ritirati intorno al labro della tazza. . . . Sono dirimpetto ai quattro lati della crociera del giardino quattro putti di bronzo a giacere scherzando in varie attitudini, i quali se bene sono poi stati fatti da altri, sono secondo il disegno del Tribolo. Comincia sopra questa tazza un altro piede, che ha nel suo principio sopra alcuni risalti quattro putti tondi di marmo, che stringono il collo a certe oche che versano acqua per bocca; e quest'acqua e quella del condotto principale che viene dal laberinto, la quale apunto saglie a questa altezza. Sopra questi putti è il resto del fuso di questo piede, il quale è fatto con certe cartelle che colano acqua con strana bizzaria, e ripigliando forma quadra, sta sopra certe maschere molto ben fatte. Sopra poi è un'altra tazza minore, nella crociera della quale, al labro, stanno appicate con le corna quattro teste di capricorno in quadro, le quali gettano per bocca acqua nella tazza grande insieme con i putti per far la pioggia che cade, come si è detto, nel primo ricetto, che ha le sponde a otto facce. Seguita più alto un altro fuso adorno con altri ornamenti e con certi putti di mezzo rilievo, che risaltando fanno un largo in cima tondo, che serve per base della figura d'un Ercole che fa scoppiare Anteo; la quale secondo il disegno del Tribolo è poi stata fatta da altri . . . dalla bocca del quale Anteo, in cambio dello spirito, disegnò che dovesse uscire, ed esce per una canna, acqua in gran copia; la quale aqua è quella del condotto grande della Petraia' (On this are seated eight putti in different attitudes, in full relief and life-size . . . and since the bowl, which is round, overhangs with a diameter of six braccia, the water of the whole fountain overflows the sides and throws a most beautiful rain, like water dripping from a roof, into the octagonal basin; so the putti at

the foot of the bowl do not get wet and seem to be like children sheltered under the lip of the bowl playing there inside, in a very charming way so as not to get wet. . . . Facing the four converging paths of the garden are four bronze putti, lying and playing in various attitudes; they are after designs by Tribolo, although they were carried out by others. Above this bowl another pedestal begins, which, on some projections at the bottom, has four marble putti in full relief, squeezing the necks of some geese which spout water from their beaks; and this water is that of the main conduit from the labyrinth, and rises just to this height. Above these putti is the rest of the shaft of this pedestal, made with some cartouches which give out jets of water in a bizarre way; then, becoming square again, it continues upwards beyond some well contrived masks. Above this, again, is another smaller bowl, on the sides of which, on the lip, four heads of goats are fixed by the horns, making a square; and these throw water through their mouths into the large bowl, like the putti, making in this way the rain which falls, as I have already said, into the first octagonal basin. Another shaft follows higher up, decorated with other ornaments and with putti in half relief; these project and form at the top a circular area, and this serves as the base for the figure of Hercules crushing Antaeus, designed by Tribolo and carried out by others. . . . he intended that, from Antaeus' mouth, instead of his last breath, a large volume of water should gush forth through a pipe, as it in fact does; the water is from the large conduit of Petraia). So far as concerns the authorship of individual sections of the fountain, it should be noted (i) that Vasari states that the four bronze putti on the lip of the tazza were modelled by Pierino da Vinci and cast by Zanobi Lastricati ('il Vinci per commissione del Tribolo gli fece di terra: i quali furono poi gettati di bronzo da Zanobi Lastricati scultore molto pratico nelle cose di getto, e furono posti non è molto tempo intorno alla fonte, che sono cosa bellissima a vedere'); (ii) that the eight putti beneath the tazza were regarded by Borghini (1584) as autograph works by Tribolo ('son di sua mano gli otto fanciulli tutti tondi, che seggono in varie attitudini'); and (iii) that, after the death of Tribolo, Antonio and Stoldi Lorenzi between 19 November 1552 and 28 February 1555 receive intermittent payments for work on the fountain (for these see Wiles, loc. cit.), one of which relates to the 'fine del fuso della fontana grande del giardino di Castello'. This confirms a statement of Vasari that Antonio Lorenzi 'condusse . . . quattro putti che sono nella fonte maggiore di detto luogo', and seems to relate to the four putti at the top of the stem. Middeldorf ('Additions to the Work of Pierino da Vinci', in *Burlington Magazine*, llii, 1928, pp. 299-306) ascribes the four putti with geese to Pierino da Vinci; there is no documentary warrant for this, and the putti are returned to Tribolo by Gamba ('Silvio Cosini', in *Dedalo*, x, 1929-30, pp. 236-7). The group of Hercules and Antaeus at the top of the fountain is by Ammanati (cast 1559-60). The work appears initially to have been planned in marble and was entrusted to Montorsoli (Vasari). According to an undated letter of Montorsoli to Cosimo I (Gaye, ii, pp. 422-3), Montorsoli's marble figures were found in S. Lorenzo by Bandinelli, and destroyed

by him. A wax model for a Hercules group for the fountain was also made by Vincenzo Danti and is mentioned by Vasari. There is no reason to doubt Vasari's statement that the present Hercules and Antaeus was adapted from a model by Tribolo.

*Plate 60: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN*  
S. Petronio, Bologna

The relief of the Assumption by Tribolo in the Cappella delle Reliquie of S. Petronio (Fig. 83) was carved for the church of the Madonna di Galliera, and is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'In tanto ebbe lettere il Tribolo da Bologna, mentre si facevano le nozze; per le quali messer Pietro del Magno, suo grande amico, lo pregava fusse contento andare a Bologna a far alla Madonna di Galliera, dove era già fatto un ornamento bellissimo di marmo, una storia di braccia tre e mezzo pur di marmo. Perchè il Tribolo, non si trovando aver allora altro che fare, andò; e fatto il modello d'una Madonna che saglie in cielo, e sotto i dodici Apostoli in varie attitudini, che piacque, essendo bellissima, mise mano a lavorare; ma con poca sua sodisfazione, perchè essendo il marmo che lavorarava di quelli di Milano, saligno, smeriglioso, e cattivo, gli pareva gettar via il tempo senza una dilettazione al mondo, di quelle che si hanno nel lavorare i quali si lavorano con piacere, ed in ultimo condotti mostrano una pelle che par propriamente di carne' (While the wedding was being celebrated, Tribolo received letters from Bologna; in these Messer Pietro del Magno, a great friend of his, begged him to agree to go to Bologna, so that he might make for the Madonna di Galliera, where a most beautiful marble ornament had already been carried out, a scene three and a half braccia in size, also in marble. So Tribolo, as he happened to have nothing else to do at the time, went. He made a model of a Madonna ascending to Heaven, with the twelve Apostles standing below in various attitudes; it won approval, as it was very beautiful, and he set his hand to the work. But it was with little satisfaction to himself, because the marble he was carving was the Milanese variety, sweaty, difficult to work, and altogether bad; and he felt he was wasting time, getting none of that delight one gets from working marbles that are pleasant to work, and which, when quite finished, show a surface like the real living flesh). The relief was completed in 1537, and is inscribed: TRIBOLO FLORENTINUS FACIEBAT ANNO MDXXXVII. A payment of 170 scudi to Tribolo for the relief (Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Demniale Padri Filippini, <sup>112</sup>/<sub>6965</sub>, transcribed by F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, 'La chiesa della Madonna di Galliera in Bologna', in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, vi, 1893, pp. 32-40) dates from 17 April 1540. The relief (for which see also F. Filippini, 'Opere di Tribolo in Bologna', in *Il Comune di Bologna*, March, 1929, p. 5, n. 1), was moved from the Madonna di Galliera to the Cappella Zambecari of San Petronio in 1746, and the glory of angels in stucco in the upper part was added at this time (for this see I. B. Supino, *L'arte nelle chiese di Bologna*, Bologna, 1938, p. 60).

## PIERINO DA VINCI

(d. 1554)

Pierino da Vinci's birth-date is variously given as 1520-1 and 1531. According to Vasari, he died in 1554 at the age of twenty-three. Milanesi infers that his death occurred at the age of thirty-three. Placed at the age of twelve in the workshop of Bandinelli, he was soon after transferred to that of Tribolo, whom he assisted on the fountains at Castello (see Plate 59 above). In 1548 he visited Rome, where he became familiar with the works and technical procedure of Michelangelo, and on his return to Pisa (1549) carved the group of Samson and a Philistine now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (see Plate 62 below), the relief of Cosimo I as Patron of Pisa (see Plate 61 below) and a statue of Dovizia at Pisa, as well as the River God now in the Louvre (see Plate 63 below). Other works by Pierino da Vinci mentioned by Vasari are a stone Bacchus carved at the same time as the Castello fountains and purchased by Bongianni Capponi (lost), a model for the tomb of Francesco Bandini in S. Croce (lost), a Crucifixion after a drawing by Michelangelo, a bronze base for a classical head and a marble relief of Venus made for Cardinal Ridolfi, a wax reduction from Michelangelo's Moses, and a relief of the Death of Count Ugolino, a subject suggested to him by Luca Martini (terracotta version in Gherardesca ownership, preliminary version in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bronze described by Vasari lost). At his death he was engaged on the tomb of Baldassare Turini in the Duomo at Pescia (figure on left carrying a flaming urn by Pierino).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The only connected account of Pierino da Vinci's career is supplied by Venturi (X-ii, pp. 327-43), which contains a number of questionable attributions. See also U. Middeldorf ('Additions to the Work of Pierino da Vinci,' in *Burlington Magazine*, liii, 1928, pp. 299-306), E. Kris ('Zum Werk des Pierino da Vinci,' in *Pantheon*, iii, 1929, pp. 94-8), W. Gramberg ('Beiträge zum Werk und Leben Pierino da Vincis,' in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lli, 1931, pp. 223-8), and A. M. Vandelli ('Contributo alla cronologia della vita di Pierino da Vinci,' in *Rivista d'Arte*, xv, 1933, pp. 109-13).

Plate 61: COSIMO I AS PATRON OF PISA  
Museo Vaticano

The subject of the relief is described by Vasari: 'Messe dipoi mano a una istoria in marmo di mezzo e basso rilievo, alta un braccio e lunga un braccio e mezzo, nella quale figurava Pisa restaurata dal duca, il quale è nell'opera presente alla città ed alla restaurazione d'essa sollecitata dalla sua presenza. Intorno al duca sono le sue virtù ritratte, e particolarmente una Minerva figurata per la Sapienza e per l'Arti risuscitate da lui nella città di Pisa; ed ella è cinta intorno da molti mali e difetti naturali

del luogo, i quali a guisa di nimici l'assediavano per tutto e l'affligevano. Da tutti questi è stata poi liberata quella città dalle sopradette virtù del duca. Tutte queste virtù intorno al duca e tutti que' mali intorno a Pisa erano ritratti con bellissimi modi ed attitudini nella sua storia dal Vinci: ma egli la lasciò imperfetta, e desiderata molto da chi la vede, per la perfezione delle cose finite in quella' (He then set to work on a marble history, partly in half-relief and partly in low-relief, one braccio high and one and a half wide. In this he represented the restoration of Pisa by the Duke, who is in the work present in the city and at its restoration, which is being urged on by his presence. Round the Duke his virtues are portrayed, particularly a Minerva, representing Wisdom and the Arts, which had been revived by him in the city of Pisa; and it is surrounded by many evils and natural deficiencies of the place, which in the manner of enemies besiege it all round and attack it. From all these the city has since been freed by the above-mentioned virtues of the Duke. All the virtues round the Duke and all the evils round Pisa were portrayed by Vinci in this history of his with the most beautiful movements and attitudes; but he left it unfinished, much to the regret of the spectator, on account of the perfection of the things in it which were finished). A closely similar description appears in Borgini (*Il Riposo*, 1584). The relief is mentioned by Vasari after the statue of Dovizia in the Piazza Cairoli at Pisa, and was thus probably executed after the sculptor's return from Rome in 1549. A post-Roman dating is accepted by Gramberg ('Beiträge zum Werk und Leben Pierino da Vincis', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, lli, 1931, pp. 225-6). The iconography of the relief is explained by E. Steinmann ('Zur Ikonographie Michelangelos', in *Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft*, i, 1908, pp. 40-52, as Ammanati), who points out that the scene relates to the refoundation of the University of Pisa in 1542, its reopening in the following year, and the institution in 1547 of the Uffizio de' Fossi, whereby conditions were improved both in the University and in the city as a whole. There is no record of the whereabouts of the relief between 1568 (when it is mentioned in the second edition of the *Vite* of Vasari) and 1772 when it was owned by Cavaceppi, the friend of Winckelmann, and was reproduced in his *Raccolta d'antiche statue* (Pl. 60) as a work of Michelangelo. It appears in the Museo Pio-Clementino of the Vatican in 1792.

Plate 62: SAMSON SLAYING A PHILISTINE  
Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

The group is stated by Vasari to have been carved by Pierino for Luca Martini after his return from Rome: 'Mandò dipoi Luca a Carrara a far cavare un marmo cinque braccia alto e largo tre; nel quale il Vinci, avendo già veduto alcuni schizzi di

Michelangnolo d'un Sansone che ammazzava un Filisteo con la mascella d'asino, disegnò da questo suggetto fare a sua fantasia due statue di cinque braccia. Onde, mentre che'l marmo veniva, messosi a fare più modelli variati l'uno dall'altro, si fermò a uno: e dipoi venuto il sasso, a lavorarlo incominciò e lo tirò innanzi assai, immitando Michelagnolo nel cavare a poco a poco de' sassi il concetto suo e'l disegno, senza guastarli o farvi altro errore. Condusse in questa opera gli strafori sotto squadra e sopra squadra, ancora che laboriosi, con molta facilità, e la maniera di tutta l'opera era dolcissima' (Luca next sent to Carrara for a marble block five braccia by three for Vinci to make two statues of five braccia on the subject of Samson slaying a Philistine with the jawbone of an ass, for which he had seen some sketches by Michelangelo. Before the marble arrived, he busied himself making more models, each different from the rest, and at length he settled on one. After the arrival of the block he at once set to work, imitating Michelangelo in gradually excavating his idea and design from the block, without damaging it in any way or making any errors. He made the perforations, difficult as they were, with great facility, and the manner of the whole work was very sweet).

Plate 63: RIVER GOD  
Louvre, Paris

The figure is identified by Middeldorf ('Additions to the Work of Pierino da Vinci', in *Burlington Magazine*, liii, 1928, pp. 299-306) with a figure of a River God stated by Vasari to have been carved by Pierino da Vinci at Pisa for Luca Martini. The passage in Vasari reads: 'Venuto addunque in Pisa, trovò che'l marmo era già nella stanza acconcio, secondo l'ordine di Luca: e cominciando a volerne cavare una figure in più, s'avvedde che'l marmo aveva un pelo, il quale lo scemava un braccio. Per lo che risoluto a voltarlo a giacere, fece un fiume giovane che tiene un vaso che getta acqua; ed è il vaso alzato da tre fanciulli, i quali aiutano a versare l'acqua il fiume, e sotto i piedi a lui molto copia d'acqua discorre, nella quale si veggono pesci guizzare

ed uccelli aquatici in varie parti volare. Finito questo fiume, il Vinci ne fece dono a Luca, il quale lo presentò alla duchessa, ed a lei fu molto caro; perchè allora essendo in Pisa Don Grazia di Toledo suo fratello venuto con le galee, ella lo donò al fratello, il quale con molto piacere lo ricevette per le fonti del suo giardino di Napoli a Chiaia' (Arrived in Pisa, he found the marble already in his room, prepared according to the orders of Luca; but, when he began carving a standing figure from it, he saw that the marble had a crack that diminished it by a braccio. So, deciding to turn it into a recumbent figure, he made a young River God holding a vase pouring out water, the vase being held up by three children helping the River to pour the water; and under his feet runs a large quantity of water, in which one sees fishes darting and water birds flying in different directions. When he had finished this River God, Vinci gave it to Luca, who presented it to the Duchess, to whom it was very dear. Since her brother Don Garzia di Toledo was then in Pisa, having come by galley, she gave it to him, and he received it with great pleasure for the fountains in his garden at Naples in the Chiaia). The principal discrepancies between this account and the figure in the Louvre are (i) that the River God is not reclining, and (ii) that the Louvre statue shows two putti and not three. The original block of marble, however, as noted by Middeldorf, is stated by Vasari to have been three braccia in height, and the height of the present figure (1.35 m.) is approximately two braccia, that is the original height of the block less one braccia waste. Since the statue was despatched to Naples, there is no reason to suppose that Vasari was closely familiar with it in the original. The figure reached the Louvre with the Schlichting collection, for which it was secured from the Palazzo Balzo, Naples. The attribution to Pierino da Vinci and a dating ca. 1548 are accepted by Gramberg ('Beiträge zum Werk und Leben Pierino da Vinci's', in *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, lli, 1931, p. 225), Wiles (*The Fountains of the Florentine Sculptors*, Cambridge, 1935, p. 86) and A. Venturi (X-ii, p. 329), who also (X-i, p. 209) reproduces the statue as Tribolo. It is likely that the figure was presented to Don Garcia di Toledo in 1551.

BACCIO BANDINELLI  
(b. 1493; d. 1560)

Born in Florence in 1493, Baccio Bandinelli was trained by his father, Michelangelo di Viviani de' Bandini, a goldsmith patronised by the Medici, and later entered the workshop of Rustici. In 1515, through the agency of Giuliano de' Medici, Duc de Nemours, he received the commission for his first major marble sculpture, a St. Peter for the Duomo (see Plate 51 above). At this time he also undertook part of the decorations prepared for the entry of Leo X into Florence; according to contemporary sources his work was adversely criticised. A statue of Orpheus and Cerberus, commissioned by Cardinal

Giulio de' Medici and now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Medici, seems to date from 1519. In 1520 Bandinelli was commissioned to execute for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici a full size copy of the Laocoön (completed 1525), formerly in the Palazzo Medici and now in the Uffizi, Florence. On the expulsion of the Medici (1527) Bandinelli moved first to Lucca and then to Genoa, where he began work on a commemorative statue of Andrea Doria and presented a bronze relief of the Crucifixion to the Emperor Charles V. Before 1529 a statue of the young Mercury by Bandinelli (lost) was bought by Giovanni Battista della Palla

for Francis I of France. At this time Bandinelli (as a result of negotiations described in his *Memoriale*) was made a Knight of S. Iago. In 1531 he worked at Loreto (see Plate 46 above). Three years later he completed his major work, the controversial group of Hercules and Cacus, designed in competition with Michelangelo and still in its original position outside the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (see Plate 64 below). In 1536 Bandinelli received a contract for the tombs of Popes Leo X (Fig. 65) and Clement VII in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, and in 1540 contracted to undertake the monument of Giovanni dalle Bande Nere in S. Lorenzo in Florence (seated figure and relief now outside the church, Fig. 120). A letter of 6 April 1541 from Baldassare Turini to Cosimo I de' Medici describes negotiations in Rome with Bandinelli regarding the two papal tombs. In 1540 Bandinelli also embarked on the Udienza of the Palazzo Vecchio, and this was followed in 1547 by a project for a new choir and high altar for the Cathedral (see Plate 66 below). The sculptor died on 7 February 1560. By virtue first of Vasari's vivid life of Bandinelli, second of the references to Bandinelli in Cellini's autobiography, and third of the *Memoriale* (or account of his own family and career) which he prepared for his descendants, we know more about the character of Bandinelli than about that of any other sixteenth century sculptor save Cellini. His most successful work is the Dead Christ supported by Nicodemus in his own memorial chapel in the Annunziata, which was begun by his son Clemente (see Plate 65 below).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Bandinelli's *Memoriale* is published by Colasanti ('Il *Memoriale* di Baccio Bandinelli', in *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, xxviii, 1905, pp. 406-43). A connected account of Bandinelli's career is supplied by Jansen ('Baccio Bandinelli', in *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, xi, 1875-6, pp. 65-73, 97-105, 139-45, 203-9, 239-51), and a critical account of Bandinelli's style is given by Venturi (X-ii, pp. 187-239). For the work of Clemente Bandinelli see Heikamp ('Die Bildwerke des Clemente Bandinelli', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, ix, 1960, pp. 130-5).

**Plate 64: HERCULES AND CACUS**  
Piazza della Signoria, Florence

The story of Bandinelli's Hercules and Cacus goes back to the year 1508, when a marble block nine and a half braccia high and five braccia wide was ordered by Piero Soderini for the use of Michelangelo. The block was intended from the first for the Piazza della Signoria, for which Michelangelo was to carve a counterpart to the David in the form of a group of Hercules and Cacus. The marble was not delivered till 1525, when, on the instructions of Pope Clement VII, it was handed over to Bandinelli. According to Vasari, the principal agent in effecting the transfer of the block from one sculptor to the other was Domenico Buoninsegna, who had been alienated by Michelangelo, and who persuaded the Pope that his requirements would be met more expeditiously if the rivalry between the two sculptors were stimulated. Bandinelli thereupon made a

wax model of his intended group; this represented 'Ercole, il quale avendo rinchiuso il capo di Cacco con un ginocchio tra due sassi, col braccio sinistro lo strigneva con molta forza, tenendoselo sotto fra le gambe rannicchiato in attitudine travagliata; dove mostrava Cacco il patire suo e la violenza e'l pondo d'Ercole sopra di sè, che gli faceva scoppiare ogni minimo muscolo per tutta la persona. Parimente Ercole con la testa chinata verso il nimico oppresso, e dignrnando e strignendo i denti, alzava il braccio destro, e, con molta ficerza rompendogli la testa, gli dava col bastone l'altro colpo' (Hercules who, having gripped the head of Cacus between two stones with one knee, grasped him with great force with the left arm, and held him crouched under his legs in a tortured attitude; in this Cacus showed his suffering and the strain and weight of Hercules above him, bursting every smallest muscle in his whole body. In the same way Hercules, with his head bent down towards his crushed enemy, grinding and gnashing his teeth, raised his right arm and gave him another blow with his club, fiercely dashing his head to pieces). Vasari records that Michelangelo at this time endeavoured to dissuade the Pope from his decision without success, while Bandinelli boasted of his intention to surpass the David. After a number of practical difficulties, the marble block was moved to Florence, where its dimensions proved to be unsuited to Bandinelli's model (which was, however, preserved in 1568 in the Guardaroba of Cosimo I). Bandinelli therefore made a number of further models, of which 'uno più degli altri ne piacque al papa, dove Ercole aveva Cacco fra le gambe, e presolo pe' capelli, lo teneva sotto a guisa di prigione' (the Pope liked best the one in which Hercules had Cacus between his legs and, taking him by the hair, held him down as if imprisoned). It was agreed that this model should be adopted for the statue, and a full-scale clay model was prepared. According to Vasari, this showed less boldness and vivacity than the rejected scheme. At some time between this date and 1527 Bandinelli began work on the marble block. In 1528, however, Michelangelo, who was employed under the popular government on the fortifications of Florence, was shown the newly worked marble block with a view to ascertaining whether the preliminary work of Bandinelli was such as to preclude its use for a new two- or three-figure group. The answer appears to have been in the negative, and Michelangelo thereupon began to prepare models for a group of Samson and two Philistines. After the return of the Medici, however, Michelangelo was instructed to resume work on the Medici Chapel and Bandinelli was required to continue the Hercules. The group was completed in 1534, and is signed on the base *BACCIVS BANDINELL. FLOR. FACIEBAT. MDXXXIII*. It was removed from the Opera del Duomo, where it had been carved, on 1 May 1534, and was installed by Baccio d'Agnolo and Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio on its base in the Piazza della Signoria. Bandinelli, seeing the group in the open air, considered that the muscles appeared 'troppo dolci', and after re-erecting screens round the statue resumed work on it, and 'affondando in più luoghi i muscoli, ridusse le figure più crude che prima non erano' (deepened the muscles in several places, and made the figures cruder than they had been before). The group was much

criticised and lampooned when it was unveiled; according to Vasari the authors of some of the lampoons were imprisoned by Alessandro de' Medici. A terracotta sketch-model in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (H. 73 cm.) is convincingly identified by Brinckmann (*Barock-Bozzetti*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1923, i, pp. 44-5) as a model made in connection with Bandinelli's initial project for the statue, and agrees closely with Vasari's description of the proposed group.

Plate 65: THE DEAD CHRIST SUPPORTED  
BY NICODEMUS  
SS. Annunziata, Florence

The group is set behind the altar of the first chapel to the right of the tribune of the church. It shows the dead Christ supported on the left knee of Nicodemus and on a rectangular marble block inscribed with the words: DIVINAE.PIET./B.  
BANDINELL./H.SIBI.SEPVL./FABREF. On the ground in front are the spear, sponge, hammer, the instrument for extracting the nails and the nails. The group is set on a marble base carved with swags and stemme, with, at the corners, four skulls. At the back are portrait reliefs of the sculptor and his wife. On the marble plinth which supports the group and from which the altar projects, is the epitaph:

D. O. M  
BACCIVS BANDINEL. DIVI IACOBI EQVES  
SVB HAC SAL[ER]VATORIS IMAGINE,  
A SE EXPRESSA, CVM IACOBA DONIA  
VXORE QVIESCIT. AN.S.M.D.LIX.

(Baccio Bandinelli, Knight of the Order of St. James, rests with his wife Jacopa Doni beneath this image of the Saviour, which he made himself. 1559).

The chapel in which the group is placed was formerly that of the Pazzi family and was dedicated to St. James. In 1559, however, it was transferred to Bandinelli, and rededicated to the Pietà. Work on the group seems to have been begun in 1554, and according to Vasari was carried out initially by Bandinelli's son Clemente: the head of Nicodemus is an idealised portrait of Bandinelli. In carrying the monument through its initial stages, Clemente Bandinelli seems to have followed a model by his father, which is mentioned on 11 March 1563 in a letter from Vincenzo de' Rossi to Cosimo I (Gaye, iii, pp. 107-8: 'un modello del Cristo che il Cavaliere fe' nella Nuntiata'). The group is discussed in more detail in a second passage of Vasari: 'Mentre che queste cose si andavano preparando, venne volontà a Baccio di finire quella statua di Cristo morto tenuto da Niccodemo, il quale Clemente suo figliolo aveva tirato inanzi, perciocchè aveva inteso che a Roma il Buonarrotto ne finiva uno, il quale aveva cominciato in un marmo grande, dove erano cinque figure, per metterlo in Santa Maria Maggiore alla sua sepoltura. A questa correnza, Baccio si messe a lavorare il suo con ogni accuratezza, e con aiuti, tanto che lo finì; ed andava cercando in questo mezzo per le chiese principali di Firenze d'un luogo, dove egli potesse collocarlo, e farvi per sè una sepoltura. Ma non trovando luogo che lo contentasse per sepoltura, si risolvè a una cappella nella

chiesa de' Servi, la quale è della famiglia de' Pazzi. I padroni di questa cappella, pregati della duchessa, concessono il luogo a Baccio, senza spodestarsi del padronato e delle insegne che v'erano di casa loro; e solamente gli concessono che egli facesse uno altare di marmo, e sopra quello mettesse le dette statue, e vi facesse la sepoltura a' piedi. . . . In questo mezzo faceva Baccio murare l'altare ed il basamento di marmo per mettervi su queste statue; e finito, disegnò mettere in quella sepoltura, dove voleva esser messi egli e la sua moglie, l'ossa di Michelagnolo suo padre, le quali aveva nella medesima chiesa fatto porre, quando e' morì, in uno deposito' (While these preparations were going on, Baccio was taken by the desire to finish the statue of the Dead Christ supported by Nicodemus which his son Clemente had carried forward; for he had heard that Buonarroti was finishing one in Rome, which he had begun on a large block of marble, with five figures, intending to put it on his tomb in S. Maria Maggiore. In emulation of this Baccio set to work on his with great keenness and with the help of assistants, until he finished it. Meanwhile he was going round the principal church of Florence, looking for a place where he could set it up and make a tomb for himself. Not having found a place for the tomb which would satisfy him, he decided on a chapel belonging to the Pazzi family in the Church of the Servites. The owners of the chapel, at the request of the Duchess, granted the place to Baccio, but without divesting themselves of ownership or of the emblems of their family which were there; and they only allowed him to make a marble altar there, to put the statues above it and make his tomb at its foot. . . . Meanwhile Baccio had the altar and the marble base built, so that he might put the statues on it; and, when he had finished it, he decided to transfer to the tomb, in which he himself and his wife were to be laid, the bones of Michelagnolo his father, which he had placed in a tomb in the same church when he died). Bandinelli was buried in the chapel on 7 February 1560. It seems at one time to have been the sculptor's intention that the group of the Dead Christ supported by Nicodemus should be accompanied by statues of St. John and St. Catherine of Siena. Provision for this was made by Bandinelli in the following terms (see A. Colasanti, 'I Memoriali di Baccio Bandinelli', in *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, xxviii, 1905, pp. 442-3): 'Se avanti alla morte mia . . . non avessi dato fine d'ornare la cappella nostra della Sma. Nontiata, quale era già della nobile famiglia de' Pazzi, vi prego e comando di tirarla a fine col mettere sopra l'altare la Pietà, fatta a quest'effetto nell' Opera, e collocare da man dritta il bellissimo S. Giovanni che per questo ho condotto in casa mia, e da mano manca S. Caterina da Siena, che sarà con la Pietà finita in breve, ornandola con le mie armi e con quella inscrizione che più vi piacerà, non avendo il maggiore desiderio che di finirla avanti al fine mio, ma sia rimesso il tutto nel Signore, quale (si come in terra io vi benedico) vi dia la Sua benedizione in cielo e nella stessa terra, acciò, vivendo bene et operando da nobilmente nato, viviate lungamente felici e nel cielo co' padri nostri nel secolo de' secoli' (If before my death . . . I have not completed the decoration of our chapel in SS. Annunziata, which once belonged to the noble family of the Pazzi, I beg and command you to complete it by putting above the altar the Dead Christ, done for this purpose in the Opera,

and by placing on the right the fine St. John, which I executed for this in my own house, and on the left the St. Catherine of Siena, which, like the Dead Christ, will soon be finished. Decorate the chapel with my arms and whatever inscription you like best. I have no greater wish than to complete it before my death, but let all lie in the hands of Our Lord. And may He, just as I give you my blessing on earth, give you His both in heaven and on earth; so that, living virtuously and acting as befits your noble birth, you may live long and happily and afterwards in heaven be with our forefathers for ever).

Plate 66: CHOIR RELIEFS  
Duomo, Florence

Up to the middle of the sixteenth century the choir of the Duomo at Florence was an octagonal wooden structure of 1435 based on a model by Brunelleschi (Paatz, iii, p. 408) corresponding in form to the interior of the cupola. This choir is depicted in the medal by Bertoldo commemorating the Pazzi conspiracy. Early in the sixteenth century it was proposed by Cardinal Francesco Soderini that the central choir should be demolished, and replaced by a subterranean chapel dedicated to St. Zenobius, approached by steps from the level of the nave. This proposal came to nothing, and the choir was left intact until 1547, when Bandinelli placed before Cosimo I his plans for the construction of a new choir. Drawn up by the sculptor and by Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo, these plans provided for the building of a new high altar, for the provision of reliefs and statues, and for the construction of two marble pulpits. The octagonal form of the old choir was retained, but in its new guise it consisted of a balustrade, with reliefs of Prophets and Philosophers, and of an upper section composed of columns and pilasters with a cornice surmounted by a 'grillanda di candieri'. Each of the four main faces of the choir had a central arch, the two lateral arches being destined for the pulpits (which were not executed) and the rear arch being filled by statues of Adam and Eve (see below). On the altar was a Pietà, with, above it, a colossal statue of God the Father. Engravings of the altar and choir screen as they were executed are contained in Sgrilli, *Descrizione di Santa Maria del Fiore*, Florence, 1733, pl. xiv. In the form in which they were carried out both the altar and choir represented a simplification of Bandinelli's original scheme, which provided, according to Vasari, for a figure of the Dead Christ with two Angels, two kneeling Angels, a bronze predella more than a braccia high with Passion reliefs, and a large relief beneath the Adam and Eve with the story of the Fall. It was at one time proposed that Cellini should be associated with this work (see Camesasca, *Tutta l'opera di Cellini*, Milan, 1955, pp. 61-2), and models for the two pulpits, as well as a wax relief of Adam and Eve, were prepared by him. Vasari, who is our main source for Bandinelli's intentions, gives an unfavourable account of the choir, which he condemns in the words: 'Ma non le cose assai ed i molti ornamenti son quelli che abbelliscono ed arricchiscono le fabbriche; ma le buone, quantunque sieno poche, se sono ancora poste ne' luoghi loro e con la debita proporzione composte insieme, queste piacciono

e sono ammirate, e fatte con giudizio dall'artefice, ricevono dipoi lode da tutti gli altri. Questo non pare che Giuliano e Baccio considerassino nè osservassino; perchè presono un suggetto di molta opera e lunga fatica, ma di poca grazia, come ha l'esperienza dimostrò' (But it is not the profusion of parts and ornaments that makes a construction beautiful and rich, but rather their quality; however few they may be, as long as they are put in their proper places and arranged together with due proportion, good ones please and are admired and, because they have been executed with judgement by the craftsman, receive praise from everyone else. This Giuliano and Baccio do not seem to have considered or observed, for they took a subject involving much labour and effort, but with little grace, as experience has shown). The principal source for the progress of work on the choir is the *Diario Fiorentino* of Lapini. According to this source, work was begun in October 1547 when the wooden choir was removed and the construction of the new choir started on the side facing the Old Sacristy. On 13 August 1552 the figure of Christ on the High Altar was unveiled, as well as the Adam and Eve at the back. The latter figures in particular seem to have caused the sculptor some difficulty, and were preceded by two rejected figures carved in 1549, an Adam later transformed into a Bacchus (now in the Palazzo Vecchio) and a seated Eve later transformed into a Ceres (now in the Boboli Gardens). On 21 October 1552 the God the Father was disclosed. When Bandinelli died in 1560 the choir was still unfinished. It had been the original intention that the upper section of the choir screen, like that below, should be constructed predominantly of white marble. In 1569, however, a quarry of coloured marble was discovered at Seravezza, and instructions were given by the Grand-Duke that the white marble should be removed, and replaced by marble from the new source. According to Lapini, 'A' dì 14 di giugno 1569 si messono le prime colonne di marmo mistio, cioè rosse e bianche, e d'altri varj colori, intorno al bel coro di marmo bianco di S. Maria del Fiore, e si levorno certe colonne di marmo bianco incannellate, che vi erono state qualche anno' (On 14 June 1569 the first columns of multi-coloured marble, red and white and various other colours, were put in place round the fine white marble choir in S. Maria del Fiore, and certain fluted columns of white marble which had been there for some years were taken away). By 23 May 1572 the structure of the choir was complete, and on 14 June 1572 the installation was begun of 'le belle e varie tavole di marmo mistio, insieme colle figure di marmo bianco di mezzo rilievo, che furono tenute una cosa bella' (The fine and varied slabs of multi-coloured marble, together with the white marble figures in half-relief, which were considered a fine thing). The choir appears from the first to have been the object of some dissatisfaction, and Bernini, when consulted by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand II, recommended that it should be dismantled, on the grounds that it narrowed the church and blocked the nave. The figures of Adam and Eve were removed in 1722 on account of their nudity, and were deposited initially in the Salone dei Cinquecento and later in the Museo Nazionale, being replaced in the choir by the Michelangelo Pietà. In 1842 the choir was reduced to its present form (Fig. 90), the upper part of the screen being removed and the balustrade contracted

to its present size by the removal of twenty-four figured reliefs which are now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. The Christ tended by an Angel from the High Altar was transferred at this time to the Baroncelli Chapel of Santa Croce, and the God the Father was moved to the cloister of the same church. Only a relatively small number of the balustrade reliefs were executed by Bandinelli; these include reliefs on the east side of the choir (some of which are signed with the sculptor's initials and dated 1555) and six of the reliefs in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo. The bulk of the remainder were executed by Bandinelli's pupil, Giovanni Bandini. A. Venturi (X-ii, fig. 214) reproduces three signed reliefs by Bandinelli as works of Bandini. The God the Father was executed in large part by Vincenzo de' Rossi. Three wax Passion scenes in the Museo Nazionale are convincingly identified by Middeldorf ('An erroneous Donatello Attribution', in *Burlington Magazine*, liv, 1929, pp. 184-8) as sketch-models by Vincenzo de' Rossi for the bronze predella of the altar; these appear to have been put

temporarily in place pending the preparation of the bronze reliefs, which were not executed.

*Plate 68: COSIMO I DE' MEDICI*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bust is not dated, but is certainly identical with a bust mentioned by Vasari in a room on the upper floor of the Palazzo Vecchio. It is described in an inventory of 1553 (C. Conti, *La prima reggia di Cosimo I de' Medici*, Florence, 1893, p. 60) in the 'camera di Penelope'. Vasari's account implies that the bust was carved before the unsuccessful statue of Cosimo I for the Udienza of the Palazzo Vecchio. It is assumed by Venturi to be somewhat later in date than a small bronze bust of Cosimo I by Bandinelli in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, in which the features are those of a younger man. The present bust is dated by Heikamp ca. 1544 on the strength of a portrait engraving of Cosimo I by Niccolò della Casa.

GIOVANNI BANDINI  
(b. 1540; d. 1599)

A pupil of Bandinelli, Bandini, popularly known as Giovanni dell' Opera, completed (1572) the choir screen of the Cathedral in Florence after Bandinelli's death (see Plate 66 above). In 1564 he prepared part of the decorations of the catafalque of Michelangelo, and as a result received the commission for one of the three seated figures on the tomb of Michelangelo (see Plate 67 below). In 1573 he was entrusted with two of the statues of Apostles for the Duomo (SS. Philip and James), and modelled the bronze figure of Juno for the Studiolo of Francesco de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio (see Plate 78 below). In 1576-7 he executed the reliefs of the Gaddi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella. After 1582 he was active at Urbino in the service of Francesco Maria della Rovere, for whom he carved his finest work, a group of the Virgin with the dead Christ (1585-6) in the Oratorio della Grotta beneath the Duomo at Urbino, as well as a portrait statue, now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice (completed 1587). In 1595 he was entrusted with the statue of Ferdinand I de' Medici at Leghorn (see Plate 96 below), and in 1598 he signed a statue of Meleager (Private collection). Bandini died in Florence on 18 April 1599.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A comprehensive account of Bandini's work is given by Middeldorf ('Giovanni Bandini, detto Giovanni dell' Opera', in *Rivista d' Arte*, xi, 1929, pp. 481-50). See also Venturi (X-ii, pp. 241-70).

*Plate 67: ARCHITECTURE*  
S. Croce, Florence

After the death of Michelangelo (18 February 1564), his body was brought from Rome to Florence, where it arrived on 10 March.

Two days later it was transferred to S. Croce. Four members of the Florentine Academy, Bronzino, Vasari, Cellini and Ammanati, were appointed to supervise a solemn commemorative service in S. Lorenzo. This took place on 14 July 1564. Some impression of the importance that attached to it is provided by a letter from Vasari to Leonardo Buonarroti of 18 March 1564 (Frey, *Vasaris Litterarischer Nachlass*, ii, No. CDXXXVI: 'Et credo, che sara cosa che ne papi ne glinperatorj ne re non l'anno auta mai. Basta, che se voi avessi mandato qua il corpo dj San Piero e San Pauolo, non saresti maj tanto lodato e auto obbligo da questi princjpi, da questi cittadinj, dal arte nostra et da tutto questo popolo') (And I think it will be something not even Popes or Emperors or kings have ever had. Let me say simply that if you had sent the bodies of Saints Peter and Paul here, you would not be so much praised and held a benefactor by the princes, the citizens, our guild, and the whole people). At the funeral the catafalque was surmounted by a figure of Fame (Zanobi Lastriati); in front of it were reclining statues of the Arno (Battista di Benedetto) and Tiber (Giovanni Bandini), and on the pedestal were four allegorical groups by Vincenzo Danti, Valerio Cioli, and Lorenzo and Antonio Calamech. Above on socles were sculptured representations of Architecture (Giovanni di Benedetto da Castello), Painting (Battista del Cavaliere), Sculpture (Antonio Lorenzi) and Poetry (Domenico Poggini). At the top was a pyramid with two relief portraits of Michelangelo (Santi Buglioni). These temporary decorations form the background against which plans were formed for the permanent commemoration of Michelangelo by means of a sepulchral monument. A letter addressed by Vasari to Leonardo Buonarroti on 4 March 1564 (Frey, op. cit., ii, No. CDXXXII) alludes to the intention of the Grand-Duke to erect a

commemorative monument with a bust of Michelangelo in the Duomo, but this proposal seems to have been rapidly abandoned, and thereafter the Grand-Duke interested himself in the monument to be erected at the expense of Lionardo Buonarroti in S. Croce. According to a letter of Vasari of 26 March 1564 (Frey, op. cit., ii, No. CDXXXIX), the tomb in S. Croce was initially regarded as the responsibility of Lionardo Buonarroti ('l Academia ora a da fare in San Lorenzo quel che tocha allej, et voj in Santa Croce farete quel che uj piacerà'), but in practice control of the S. Croce monument was retained in Florence. The genesis of the tomb is described in a letter of 22 March 1564 written by Lionardo Buonarroti to the Grand-Duke (Gaye, iii, pp. 131-2), offering to allow the unfinished marbles in Michelangelo's house in the Via Mozza to be incorporated in the tomb: 'Da perchè detto Michelagnolo per l'amore avea alla fabricha di S. Pietro à speso tutto el suo tempo inonoralla, nè à posuto co l'opera in vita mostrare lo amore portava alla Eccellenza V. Il., come desiderava, à mandato in morte di essere sepellito nella chiesa di Santa Croce nella vostra felicissima città di Firenze, per esservi cole ossa al servizio di quella; e per non si essere trovato cosa alcuna di suo in casa sua, come era il desiderio mio, per farne parte a Vostra Eccellenza Illma., et esendosene ito senza lasar molto, salvo le cose costì di via moza, le quale piacendo alla Vostra Eccellenza Illma., quella mi farà grandissimo favore di servirsene, e se di qua sarà possibile recuperare niente, ne farò ogni opera per servitio di quella etc., etc.' (Because Michelangelo, on account of his love for the building of St. Peter's, spent all his time in doing it honour, and could not in his lifetime show, as he wished, with his work the love he bore Your Excellency, he wished in death to be buried in the church of S. Croce in your fortunate city of Florence, so that he could serve it with his bones. Since nothing was found in his house to allot to Your Excellency, as I should have wished, and since he died without leaving much except for the things in the Via Mozza, if it pleases Your Excellency, I shall be much obliged if they are used; and, if it is possible to recover nothing from here, I will do anything to be of service, etc.). At this time Lionardo Buonarroti and Daniele da Volterra were jointly engaged in Rome in preparing plans for a monument in S. Croce embodying the Victory and the four unfinished Slaves then in the Via Mozza. Vasari from the first seems to have had some reserve about this plan, and on 10 March 1564 (Frey, op. cit., ii, No. CDXXXII) asked Lionardo Buonarroti that two schemes should be prepared in Rome 'uno con la figura di via Mozza et un altro senza' (one with the figure from the Via Mozza and another without it). An attempt had been made by Cosimo I to purchase the house in Via Mozza with its marbles as early as 1544, and the reluctance of Vasari to allow the Victory to be placed on the tomb in S. Croce seems to have arisen from his wish to use it in the Sala Regia of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it was installed at the end of the same year. On 18 March 1564 Vasari (Frey, op. cit., ii, No. CDXXXVI) reported to Lionardo Buonarroti that the Grand-Duke had agreed in principle to the use of the Victory for the tomb, but expressed some doubt as to its suitability and suggested that it would be preferable to secure the Pietà (now in the Duomo in Florence) for use on the monument ('che la pieta

delle cinque figure chegli roppe, la faceva per la sepoltura sua; et vorrej ritrouare, come suo erede, in che modo laveva il Bandino; Perche se la ricercherete per servjruene per detta sepoltura, oltre che ella e djsognata per lui, euuj un vechjo che egli ritrassse se') (that he made the Pietà with five figures, the one which he broke up, for his tomb. And you should discover, as his heir, how Bandini came to have possession of it. If you seek it out to use it for the tomb, quite apart from its being designed for that, there is an old man in it which is a self-portrait). It was suggested that in these circumstances Lionardo Buonarroti should hand over to the Grand-Duke the marbles in Via Mozza. The second part of this proposition was agreed to, and thereafter nothing more is heard of the use of works by Michelangelo for the tomb. In the form in which it was executed the monument was planned by Vincenzo Borghini, the Prior of the Innocenti, and designed by Vasari. The design for the monument was drawn up in the course of 1564, and a letter addressed to the Grand-Duke by Vincenzo Borghini on 4 November 1564 (Gaye, iii, pp. 150-1) discusses the choice of artists to carry out the sculpture ('Mi disse anchora (Vasari) che V.E.I. si contenterà che la sepoltura di Mich. Angelo Buonarroti, della quale lui ne haveva fatto un disegno et mostro a V.E.I., ch' gl'era sodisfatto, si tirassi inanzi, et ch' io n'havessi un poco di cura con alogarla a quelli che paressino a proposito, non uscendo della Academia, massime contentandose, come fa, Lionardo Buonarroti suo nipote, il quale più volte me ne ha parlato, et lo desidera. Hora, perch'io non moverei un passo in cosa alcuna senza la partecipazione di V.E.I., anchor ch'io mi senta mal'atto a questo, pure non fuggirò mai faticha alcuna per honorare la virtù di quelli che hanno honorato questa Città. Io ero di questa fantasia ch' vedendo parte di quelli scultori occupati in servitio di V.E.I., per dar che fare a ogn'uno et dare animo et occasione a certi di quelli giovani, che hanno voglia di fare et virtù di poter condurre affine i loro concetti, di mettergli in campo, et dare questo aiuto alla virtù loro, che havendosi affare tre figure, sene dessi una a Batista di Lorenzo, allievo del Cavaliere Bandinelli, quello che fece nelle esequie di Michelagnolo la statua della Pittura, che fu molto lodata, et a Giovanni, che lavora nel Opera, pure allievo del Cavaliere, che fece la statua del Architettura et il Tevere, un'altra a Batista allievo del Ammanato, che fece l'Arno, che tutta dua si può ricordare V.E.I. che le lodò assai, un'altra, poichè Vincenzo Perugino et Andrea Chalameh et Valerio Cioli hanno hauuto statue da V.E.I., et a quelli altri che restano non mancherà occasione di poter dare che fare, et la cura del murare et far condurre di quadro, con certi ornamenti ch'vi vanno, perch' vadia con hordine, si dessi a quel Batista del Cavaliere, che è persona destra e sollecita. et perchè questo ha d'essere non solo per l'honore di Michelagnolo, ma di tutta la città, et particular di V.E.I., per più sicurtà della bontà et perfettione del opra, Mess. Giorgio, che ha fatto il disegno della sepoltura, ne terrà particular cura, et vedrà giorno per giorno i designi et modelli') (Vasari has told me that Your Excellency will be glad if the tomb of Michelangelo Buonarroti, for which he has made a design and shown it to Your Excellency, who was satisfied with it, is hurried on, and if I concern myself with the allocation of the work to be done on it to those who seem most suitable, not going outside the Academy.

Leonardo Buonarotti, his nephew, is very much in agreement with this, and has spoken to me about it several times, and desires it so. Now (for I would not move a single step in any matter without the participation of Your Excellency), even though I may feel myself hardly qualified in this, yet will I spare no effort in the honouring of the talents of those who have, in their turn, honoured this city. The idea I have is this: having in mind the role of those sculptors who are occupied in the service of Your Excellency, to give something to do to each of them; and to give encouragement and opportunity to some of those young men who have both the desire to execute and the talent to carry right through their conceptions; to put them into the field and give their talent this assistance. There are three figures to do: one would be allotted to Battista di Lorenzo, that pupil of the Cavalier Bandinelli who made the much praised figure symbolising Painting for the funeral of Michelangelo; one to Giovanni, who works at the Opera, is also a pupil of the Cavaliere, and did the figures of Architecture and the Tiber; and one to Battista, Ammanati's pupil, who did the figure of the Arno (Your Excellency will remember both of these, having praised them highly); because Vincenzo of Perugia, Andrea Calamech and Valerio Cioli have had commissions for statues from Your Excellency. For the rest there will be opportunity to give of their work; and the supervision of the masonry and the execution of the frame with certain decoration which is to go on it would be entrusted to Battista, the Cavaliere's pupil and a skilful and conscientious man, in order that it should proceed in an orderly way. And because this undertaking involves not only the honour of Michelangelo but that of the whole city (and especially of Your Excellency), to make the quality and the perfection of it more sure, Master Giorgio himself, who designed the tomb, will supervise with special care and check day by day the drawings and models). The selection of artists proposed in Borghini's letter was adhered to, save that Ammanati refused to release his pupil Battista for work on the tomb. On 29 December 1564 it was proposed by Borghini (Frey, op. cit., No. CDLXXIX and p. 139) that the third figure should be allocated either to Domenico Poggini or Valerio Cioli, and the latter sculptor, by the decision of the Grand-Duke, was chosen to work on the monument. The sculptures on the monument as executed (Fig. 67) comprise (i) a marble bust of Michelangelo adapted by Battista Lorenzi from a bronze bust by Daniele da Volterra (for this see E. Steinmann, *Die Porträtdarstellungen Michelangelos*, 1913, pp. 75-77), and (ii) three allegorical figures seated on the sarcophagus representing (*left to right*) Painting (Battista Lorenzi), Sculpture (Valerio Cioli) and Architecture (Giovanni Bandini). An early scheme for the monument is shown in a drawing by Vasari at Christ Church, Oxford, in which the bust is flanked by two female figures. The figures of Painting and Sculpture are confused by A. Venturi (X-ii, Figs. 375, 400). Work on the statue by Battista Lorenzi seems already to have been begun in 1564, and a final quittance for this sculptor's statue, the bust and 'certi trofei' on the tomb is dated 27 January 1575 (for this see E. Steinmann and H. Pogatscher, in *Repertorium für Kunsthissenschaft*, XXIX, 1906, pp. 408-16). Payment was made to Giovanni Bandini for the figure of Architecture in 1568. By

this time work on the monument was far enough advanced to justify discussion of the epitaph, and on 13 May 1569 two alternative drafts by 'Mons. Moretta, che sta col Cardle. di Ferrara' and Paolo Manuzio were submitted to Leonardo Buonarroti by Diomede Leoni. These were rejected in favour of the present epitaph which reads:

MICHAELI ANGELO BONAROTIO  
E VETVSTA SIMONIORVM FAMILIA  
SCVLPTORI, PICTORI, ET ARCHITECTO  
FAMA OMNIBVS NOTISSIMO  
LEONARDVS PATRVO AMANTISS. ET DE SE OPTIME MERITO  
TRANSLATIS ROMA EIVS OSSIBVS ATQVE IN HOC TEMPLO  
MAIOR  
SVOR SEPVLRCRO CONDITIS COHORTANTE SERENISS.  
COSMO MED.  
MAGNO HETRVRIAEC DVCE, P.C.  
ANN. SAL. CIO. IO. LXX  
VIXIT ANN LXXXVIII M. XI. D. XV.

According to Lapini, the three figures on the sarcophagus were set in place only in 1574. The painter Naldini was paid for the Pietà on the monument in 1578. A passage in Borghini's *Riposo* (1584) explains the imagery of the seated figures:

'Alla prima entrata in Santa Croce (soggiunse il Michelozzo) mi si parano davanti agli occhi le tre statue di marmo sopra la sepoltura del mai appieno lodato Michelagnolo Buonarroti, sopra cui potrete dire qualche cosa, M. Bernardo, s'egli vi piace. Sopra queste (ripose il Vecchietto) tocchera a dire a M. Ridolfo, quando gli converra favellare dell' attitudini e delle membra; che quanto all'invenzione, mi pare, che la prima statua di Giovanni dell'Opera, per le seste e per la squadra, che ha per insegnia, dimostri l'Architettura: e quella di mezzo per Valerio Cioli, per lo martello e per lo scarpello, la Scultura: e la terza di Battista del Cavaliere, a rimirarla davanti, pare, chedia indizio della Scultura ancor ella, perche tiene in mano un modello abbozzato; ma chi riguarda a pie di detta figura dalla banda dritta, vi vede pennelli, scodellini ed altre cose appartenenti a pittore; laonde chiaramente si conosce esser fatto per la Pittura. Io vi voglio dire la cagione (soggiunse il Sirigatto) di queste insegne, che due cose pare che dimostrino. Egli fu ordinato da principio da Don Vincenzo Borghini, Priore degli 'Innocenti, che si metesse la Pittura nel mezzo, e dove e oggi la statua di Battista del Cavaliere, fosse la Scultura, e così furono date a fare le statue: e Battista fu il primo a cominciare a mettere in opera il marmo, e già aveva assai bene innanzi la sua statua, avendole fatto in mano quel modello, che ora si vede; quando gli credi di Michelagnolo supplicarono al Gran Duca, che facesse loro grazia, che si dovesse mettere la Scultura nel mezzo . . . e sua Altezza concedette loro quanto domandarono, onde Battista, che avea già accomodata la sua figura, per darle luogo in su quel canto, dove oggi si vede, non potendo metterla nel mezzo, bisogno, che la sua statua, che per la Scultura avea fatto inciso all'ora, tramutasse nella pittura.' ('When I first go into S. Croce,' said Michelozzo, 'what I see is the three statues above the tomb of Michelangelo Buonarroti, a man who can never be praised enough. If you are willing, Master Bernardo, you could tell us something about these.'

'It will be for Master Ridolfo,' replied Vechietto, 'to speak on this subject when he is ready to talk about the attitudes and parts of the figures. As for the invention, I think the first figure, the one by Giovanni dell' Opera, represents Architecture on account of its attributes, the ruler and set-square; the middle one, by Valerio Cioli, Sculpture in virtue of the mallet and chisel. The third one, by Battista the pupil of the Cavalier Bandinelli, if one looks at it from in front seems also to be referring to Sculpture, because it is holding a bozzetto in its hand; but if you look at the foot of the figure on the right hand side you see brushes and bowls and other painters' tools, which clearly shows it was intended as Painting.'

'I will tell you the reason for these attributes,' said Sirigatto, 'and it is proved by two things. The tomb was planned at the beginning by Don Vincenzo Borghini, Prior of the Innocenti. He had arranged for Painting to be in the middle of the group, and Sculpture where the statue by Battista del Cavaliere now is, and it was on this basis that the statues were commissioned. Battista was the first to begin working on the marble, and he already had the figure very well advanced, and had done the model in the hand which is there now. But then the heirs of Michelangelo begged the Grand Duke to do them the favour of having Sculpture put in the middle... and His Highness granted what they asked; so that Battista, who had already accommodated his figure to its place on the side where it is now, and could not put it in the middle, had to change it into Painting, even though up to this point he had been making it as Sculpture.'

This story is confirmed by a letter from Vincenzo Borghini to the Grand-Duke of 23 March 1573 reporting that delay in completing the monument was due first to the change in the position of the figures of Painting and Sculpture, and second to the fact that one sculptor had used a larger block while another had reduced his block too drastically so that the result was 'un'opera sproporzionata' ('Leonardo ne resta maliss. mo soddisfatto et gli fanno torto, che spendendo i suoi danari, et toccando a lui principalmente, parrebbe ragionevole che ci havesse la sua sodisfazione in quel che conviene. Et per quello, che io intendo hora, della statua di Giovannino dell'Opera si contenta; di quella di Batista del Cavaliere non si contenta in modo alcuno; l'altra non è anchor fatta ne si fa, escusandosi colui, come occupato ne' servitij di V.A.S.') (Leonardo is most dissatisfied with it, and they do him an injustice; for, when he is spending his own money and is the person most immediately concerned, it seems reasonable that he should be satisfied about its suitability. As I understand the situation at present, the figure by Giovanni dell' Opera is satisfactory, and that by Battista del Cavaliere is not satisfactory at all; and the third is neither done nor in progress, the artist excusing himself as being busy in Your Highness' service). An annotation to this letter, made on the Grand-Duke's instructions, orders Leonardo Buonarroti to complete the work forthwith: 'non voglia sotto questi colori e scuse fuggire quello che doverrebbe cercare per honore della memoria del zio' (A. Lorenzoni, *Carteggio artistico inedito di D. Vincenzo Borghini*, Florence, 1912, pp. 91-3).

## BENVENUTO CELLINI

(b. 1500; d. 1571)

Cellini, on whose character and life we are, thanks to his autobiography, better informed than on those of any other sixteenth-century Italian sculptor, was born in Florence on 3 November 1500. Trained as a goldsmith, he moved in 1519 to Rome, which was the main scene of his activity till 1540. His work in Rome was interrupted by visits to Florence (where he was for a time employed as a medallist by Alessandro de' Medici), to Venice, and to France (1537). Cellini's style in these early years can be reconstructed from the Seal of Ercole Gonzaga of 1528 (Curia Vescovile, Mantua), with an Assumption which is generically Raphaelesque, the Seal of Ippolito d'Este of 1539 (Musée de Lyon), the Morse made for Pope Clement VII in 1530-1, known through three drawings by Bartoli in the British Museum, and a number of medals, of which the most notable is that of Clement VII (1534) with alternative reverses of Peace and Moses striking Water from the Rock. One of the two figures on the reverse of a medal of Francis I of France (1537) is imitated from the Night of Michelangelo. From 1540 till 1545 Cellini worked in France, whither he took the celebrated salt-cellar (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) modelled for Ippolito d'Este and completed for Francis I. In 1543-4 he

executed his first large-scale sculpture, the bronze lunette of the Nymph of Fontainebleau, now in the Louvre, designed for the entrance to the palace at Fontainebleau and later installed at Anet, along with two Victory spandrel reliefs known from reproductions the originals of which have disappeared. In France he was also employed on twelve silver figures of Gods and Goddesses commissioned by the King, one of which, the Jupiter, was completed in 1544, and another of which, the Juno, is recorded in a drawing in the Louvre. In 1545 he left France and returned to Florence, where he received the commission for the Perseus (see Plate 70 below) and executed the bust of Cosimo I (see Plate 69 below). Other works he undertook in Florence were the relief of a Greyhound in the Museo Nazionale (document of 25 August 1545), the marble Apollo and Hyacinth (1546) and Narcissus (1547-8) in the same museum, the restoration of an antique torso as a Ganymede (1545-7), also in the Museo Nazionale, a bust of Bindo Altoviti (ca. 1550), now in the Gardner Museum, Boston (Fig. 122), and a marble Crucifix, now in the Escorial (1556-62, see Plate 72 below). Towards the end of his life (1563), he also prepared designs for the seal of the Academy of Florence (British Museum, London, and

Graphische Sammlung, Munich). Cellini died in Florence on 13 February 1571. His celebrated autobiography was written between 1558 and 1562, but remained unpublished till the eighteenth century, and his two treatises on goldsmith's work and sculpture date from 1565.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The best edition of the text of Cellini's *Vita* is that by Bacci (*Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, per cura di Orazio Bacci, Florence, 1901). A number of English translations are available, of which the most serviceable is that by Symonds (*The Life of Benvenuto Cellini written by himself*, ed. Pope-Hennessy, London, 1949). Milanesi's edition of the *Trattati* (*I Trattati dell'Oreficeria e della Scultura di Benvenuto Cellini*, per cura di Carlo Milanesi, Florence, 1857), which contains Cellini's letters and poems and the contemporary poems on the Perseus, is preferable to later reprints. An English translation is available (C. R. Ashbee, *The Treatises of Benvenuto Cellini on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, London, 1898). A monograph by Plon (*Benvenuto Cellini, Orfèvre, Médailleur, Sculpteur*, Paris, 1883), from which most later books on Cellini have been quarried, is superseded by a small book by Camesasca (*Tutta l'opera del Cellini*, Milan, 1955). For the Vienna Salt-Cellar see Schlosser (*Das Salzfass des Benvenuto Cellini*, Vienna, 1921, reprinted in *Präludien*, 1927, pp. 346-56). In the periodical literature of Cellini special importance attaches to articles on the Apollo and Narcissus in the Bargello by Kriegbaum ('Marmi di Benvenuto Cellini ritrovati,' in *L'Arte*, n.s. xi, 194, pp. 3-25) and on the Escorial Crucifix by Calamandrei ('Nascita e vicende del "Mio Bel Cristo,'" in *Il Ponte*, vi, 1950, pp. 3-31). Cellini's project (1564) for two pulpits for the Duomo in Florence is described in a memorandum printed by Lorenzoni (*Carteggio artistico inedito di D. Vinc. Borghini*, Florence, 1912, pp. 169-72).

**Plate 69: COSIMO I DE' MEDICI**  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The bust (Fig. 121) is mentioned by Cellini in his *Vita* as made experimentally prior to the casting of the Perseus: 'E la prima opera che io gittai di bronzo fu quella testa grande, ritratto di S. Ecc.<sup>14</sup>, che io avevo fatta di terra nell'oreficerie, mentre che io avevo male alle stiene. Questa fu un' opera che piacque, ed io non la feci per altra causa se non per fare sperientia delle terre di gittare il bronzo . . . perchè io non avevo ancora fatto la fornace, mi servì della fornace di maestro Zanobi di Pagno, campanaio' (The first piece I cast in bronze was that great bust, the portrait of His Excellency, which I had modelled in the goldsmiths' shop while suffering from pains in my back. This was a work made for my own pleasure, and my only object in making it was to obtain experience of the clays used for bronze-casting.... As I had not yet constructed my own furnace, I made use of that of Maestro Zanobi di Pagno, a bell-founder). Since the Perseus was commissioned in 1545, the bust must have been modelled and cast soon after Cellini's return to Florence. It was completed by 17 February 1547, when Cellini received a payment of 500 gold scudi for it. The bust is mentioned again by Cellini in a letter to Cosimo I of 20 May 1548 ('E feci quella testa, che si vede di

bronzo, di Vostra Eccellenza'), in which he explains that the head meant more to him than did the figure of Perseus 'both in the matter of time and in the merit of its workmanship,' and that 'in accordance with the noble fashion of the ancients, there is given to it the bold movement of life; and it is well supplied with various and rich adornments, and is most carefully finished.' It is described in an inventory of the Guardaroba of Cosimo I in October 1553 as 'tocco d'oro' (touched up with gold), and it seems that the eyes were originally silvered or enamelled and that the armour was parcel gilt. On 5 February 1557 Cellini claimed a total sum of 800 gold scudi for the bust, and in November of that year it was moved to Elba and installed over the entrance to the fortress at Portoferraio, where it remained till 1781. The balance of the sum due for the bust was again claimed by Cellini from Cosimo I in a letter of 22 January 1562. A more limited claim for 150 scudi was endorsed by Ammanati in September 1570. The sum claimed by Cellini in letters written in September 1570 to Ammanati and in October to Carlo de' Medici, was 400 scudi. A reduced marble copy of the bust carved in Cellini's shop probably by Antonio Lorenzi is in the De Young Museum, San Francisco.

**Plates 70, 71: PERSEUS**  
Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence

The commissioning of the Perseus in 1545 is described by Cellini in the *Vita* and, in a more summary fashion, in the *Trattato della Scultura*. According to the first account, Cellini visited Cosimo I at Poggio a Caiano immediately after his return from France, and received a proposal of employment from the Duke. 'Io poverello isventurato, desideroso di mostrare in questa mirabile iscuola, che di poi che io ero fuor d'essa, m'ero affaticato in altra professione di quello che la ditta iscuola non istimava, risposi al mio duca, che volentieri, o di marmo, o di bronzo, io gli farei una statua grande in su quella sua bella piazza. A questo mi rispose, che arebbe voluto da me, per una prima opera, solo un Perseo: questo era quanto lui haveva digià desiderato un pezo; e mi pregò che io gnene facessi un modelletto. Volentieri mi messi a fare il detto modello, e in brevi settimane finito l'ebbi, della altezza d'un braccio in circa: questo era di cera gialla, assai accomodatamente finito; bene era fatto con grandissimo istudio et arte. Venne il Duca a Firenze, e innanzi che io gli potessi mostrare questo ditto modello, passò parecchi di, che proprio pareva che lui non mi avessi mai veduto ne conosciuto, di fatto che io feci un mal giuditio de' fatti mia con sua Eccellenzia. Pur da poi, un di dopo desinare, havendolo io condotto nella sua guardaroba, lo venne a vedere insieme con la duchessa e con pochi altri signori. Subito vedutolo, gli piacque e lodollo oltra modo' (I poor unhappy mortal, burning with desire to show the noble school of Florence that, after leaving her in youth, I had practised other branches of the art than she imagined, gave answer to the Duke that I would willingly erect for him in marble or in bronze a mighty statue on his fine piazza. He replied that, for a first essay, he should like me to produce a Perseus; he had long set his heart on having such a monument, and he begged me to begin a model for the same.

I very gladly set myself to the task, and in a few weeks I finished my model, which was about a cubit high in yellow wax, and very delicately finished in all its details. I had made it with the most thorough study and art. The Duke returned to Florence, but several days passed before I had an opportunity of showing my model. It seemed indeed as though he had never set eyes on me or spoken with me, and this caused me to augur ill of my future dealings with His Excellency. Later on, however, one day after dinner I took it to his wardrobe, where he came to inspect it with the Duchess and a few gentlemen of the court. No sooner had he seen it, than he expressed much pleasure, and extolled it extravagantly). The model referred to in this account is that now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Fig. 45). A bronze model in the same Museum (Fig. 46) is of somewhat later date. According to the *Vita*, at a relatively early stage in the preparation of the statue, when the workshop designed for it was still being built, Cellini prepared a full-scale gesso model, from which it was intended that the bronze should be moulded and cast. 'Uno modello di gesso del Perseo grande' is mentioned in the inventory of Cellini's effects (1571). This method was, however, abandoned, and Cellini thereupon began work on a terracotta model for the Medusa built up on an iron frame, 'modelled like an anatomical subject, and about one finger's thickness thinner than the bronze would be;' this was covered with wax. After the experimental casting of the bust of Cosimo I, the Medusa was cast in bronze. The figure of Perseus was then modelled. According to Cellini, the Duke, when he saw the model, was sceptical whether the head of Medusa could be cast successfully. The *Vita* contains a celebrated account of the casting of the main figure in one piece, successfully save for damage to the right foot. The group was completed in 1554, and on 28 April was disclosed in the Loggia dei Lanzi. The statue was received with popular acclaim. The main figure is inscribed on the strap worn across the shoulder: BENVENVTVS CELLINVS CIVIS FLOR./FACIEBAT MDLIII. (in reference to the date of casting). The base, a wooden model for which appears in the inventory of Cellini's workshop, contains figures of Danae with the child Perseus (inscribed TVTA IOVE AC/ TANTO PIGNORE/LAETA FVGOR), Jupiter (Fig. 47) (inscribed TE FILI SIQVIS/LAESERIT VLTOR/ERO), Athena (Fig. 48) (inscribed QVO VINCAS/CLYPEVM DO TIBI/ CASTA SOROR) and Mercury (inscribed FRIS VT ARMA/GERAS NVDVS AD/ ASTRA VOLO). Beneath is a relief (Fig. 84) of Perseus rescuing Andromeda (original in the Museo Nazionale, copy beneath the statue), for which a wax model is recorded in Cellini's studio.

Plate 72: CRUCIFIX  
Escorial

On the side of the cross is the inscription: BENVEN/VTVS CEL/ LINVS. CIV/IS. FLORE/NT. FACIEB/AT. MDLXII. The statue (Fig. 66) was carved between 1556 and 1562, and is referred to in Cellini's *Vita*, in the course of a report of a conversation with Eleanora of Toledo: 'et per questo io me n'andai a trovare la duchessa e gli portai alcune piacevole cosette dell'arte mia, le quale S.E.I. l'ebbe molte care; dipoi la mi domandò quello che

io lavoravo, alla quale io dissi: Signora mia, io mi sono preso per piacere di fare una delle più faticose opere, che mai si sia fatte al mondo: e questo si è un Crocifisso di marmo bianchissimo, in su una croce di marmo nerissimo: ed è grande quanto un grande uomo vivo. Subito la mi domandò quello che io ne volevo fare. Io le dissi: sappiate, signora mia, che io non lo darei a chi me ne dessi dumila ducati d'oro in oro; perché una cotale opera nissuno uomo mai non s'è messo a una cotale estrema fatica, nè manco io non mi sarei ubbrigato affarla per qualsivoglia signore, per paura di non restare in vergogna: Io mi sono comperato i marmi di mia danari, ed ho tenuto un giovane in circa a dua anni, che m'ha aiutato; et infra marmi, e ferramenti in su che gli è fermo, e salarii, c'mi costa più di trecento scudi; a tale che io non lo darei per dumila scudi d'oro: ma se V.E.I. mi vuol fare una lecitissima grazia, io gnele farò volentieri un libero presente: solo priego V.E.I. che quella non mi sfavorisca, nè manco non mi favorisca nelli modelli, che S.E.I. si ha commesso che si faccino del Nettuno per il gran marmo' (Hearing what the Duke said, I went to the Duchess, and took her some small bits of goldsmith's work, which greatly pleased her Excellency. Then she asked what I was doing, and I replied: 'My lady, I have taken in hand for my pleasure one of the most laborious pieces which have ever been produced. It is a Christ of the whitest marble set upon a cross of the blackest, exactly of the same size as a tall man.' She immediately enquired what I meant to do with it. I answered: 'You must know, my lady, that I would not sell it for two thousand gold ducats; it is of such difficult execution that I think no man ever attempted the like before; nor would I have undertaken it at the commission of any prince whatever, for fear I might prove inadequate to the task. I bought the marbles with my own money, and have kept a young man some two years as my assistant in the work. What with the stone, the iron frame to hold it up, and the wages, it has cost me above three thousand crowns. Consequently, I would not sell it for two thousand. But if your Excellency deigns to grant me a favour which is wholly blameless, I shall be delighted to make you a present of it. All I ask is that your Excellency will not use your influence either against me or for me in connection with the models which the Duke has ordered to be made of the Neptune for that great block of marble).

At a later point in the *Vita* Cellini describes a visit paid by the Duke and Duchess to his studio to inspect the Crucifix. The Crucifix is also mentioned in the *Trattato della Scultura*, where Cellini refers to the difficulty of working the black marble from Carrara of which the cross was made, and states that he had intended it for his own tomb. The terminal date of 1556 for the commencement of work on the Crucifix is confirmed by a supplica of 3 March 1557 addressed by Cellini from the Stinche where he was imprisoned to the Duke asking that his sentence should be reduced 'e così io potrei finire il Cristo di marmo, il quale si è procinto di fine'. The black marble for the cross was purchased on 27 November 1557 from the Opera di San Giovanni. Further light is thrown on the sculptor's intentions by a will of 1555, which refers to a wax figure of the crucified Christ to be translated into marble for the sculptor's tomb. The Crucifix was destined for S. Maria Novella, where it was

to be set outside the Gondi Chapel as a counterpart to the Brunelleschi Crucifix on the opposite side of the church. It was to be accompanied by a relief of the Virgin and Child, with the Crucifix turned towards them, and with figures of an angel and of St. Peter interceding with the Virgin. The imagery of this relief corresponds with a vision received by Cellini in 1539 when imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo, which is described in detail in the *Vita*, and was recorded by Cellini at the time in a wax model. A codicil of September 1555 substitutes for the relief a fresco of the same scene painted on the wall. In both documents Antonio di Gino Lorenzi is named as the sculptor by whom the marble should be carved. Provision was to be made for showing the wax model in the church in a glass tabernacle. Cellini's will of 1555 was revoked in 1556 and revised in 1558, after the death of his son Jacopo Giovanni da Montepulciano, in favour of his adopted son. On 24 March 1561, after the birth of a further son, Cellini made

a new will enjoining that he should be buried in whatever church the Crucifix was housed, and if the Crucifix were not set up in a church, in the Annunziata. The Crucifix is not mentioned in a further will of 1562. Cellini's intention to instal it over his own tomb seems to have weakened as early as December 1557, when, in a supplica, he offers to place the sculpture in S. Maria Novella or in whatever other church the Duke should nominate, and in August 1565 the Crucifix was sold to Cosimo I and installed in the Palazzo Pitti. Its price was estimated by the sculptor at 1500 gold ducats, but was reduced, in a valuation made in 1570 by Ammanati and Vincenzo de' Rossi, to less than half this figure. In 1576 the Crucifix was despatched by Francesco I de' Medici as a gift to Philip II of Spain, by whom it was installed in the retro-choir choir of the Escorial and not, as had been planned, on the high altar. The arms were severed during the Spanish war of independence; the figure was originally in one piece.

## BARTOLOMEO AMMANATI

(b. 1511; d. 1592)

Born at Settignano in 1511, Ammanati appears to have been trained in the Pisan studio of Stagio Stagi, and is first met with in 1536, when he executed the lunette of an altar in the Duomo at Pisa. Thereafter he carved three statues of Apollo, Minerva and S. Nazaro for the Sannazaro monument in S. Maria del Parto at Naples (1536-8), in which the bulk of the remaining sculptures are by Montorsoli. At the end of 1538 Ammanati received, through the intervention of the painter Genga, the commission for the tomb of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino. He returned to Florence about 1540 to execute the Nari monument for the Annunziata (see Plate 73 below). Disappointed at the unsatisfactory outcome of this commission, he moved to Venice, where he worked with Jacopo Sansovino, who had a strong formative influence on his style. There he carved a Neptune in Istrian stone for the Piazza San Marco (lost). His main scene of activity, however, was not Venice, but Padua, where he carved a colossal Hercules and statues of Jupiter and Apollo (much damaged) for the Palazzo Mantova Benavides, and undertook the Benavides monument in the Eremitani (completed 1546). In 1550 he married the poetess Laura Battiferri at Loreto, and on the election of Pope Julius III moved to Rome, where he received the commission for the Del Monte monuments in S. Pietro in Montorio (see Plate 75 below). In Rome he also executed sculptures for the Villa di Papa Giulio (payments for the so-called Fontana dell' Ammanati 1554-5). On the death of Pope Julius III he established himself (1555) in Florence, where he carried out a fountain designed for the Sala dei Cinquecento of the Palazzo Vecchio, a bronze group of Hercules and Antaeus for Tribolo's fountain at Castello (see Plate 59 above), and the Fountain of Neptune in the Piazza della Signoria (see Plate 74 below). In 1572, before the completion of the fountain, he was charged, on

the commission of Pope Gregory XIII, with the monument of Giovanni Buoncompagni in the Campo Santo at Pisa (Fig. 72). Throughout these years Ammanati was also active as an architect, constructing the Ponte Santa Trinita (1567-70) and extending the Palazzo Pitti (1558-70). He designed many buildings in Florence and Lucca. At the end of his life he came under the strong influence of the Counter-Reformation, apparently through the agency of Jesuits in whose church in Florence, S. Giovannino dei Scolopi, he constructed his memorial chapel. This is reflected in a letter addressed by him in 1582 to the Accademici del Disegno inveighing against the representation of the nude, and in a further letter of about 1590 addressed to the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I, begging him 'che non lasci più scolpire o pingere cose ignude: et quelle che o da me e da altri sono state fatte si cuoprano, o del tutto si tolzano, in modo che Dio ne resti servito, nè si pensi che Fiorenza sia il nido degli idoli, o di cose provocanti libidine, et a cose che a Dio sommamente dispiacciono' (that he should no longer allow nude figures to be sculpted or painted and that those already executed, whether by myself or others, should be covered up or removed, so that Florence shall cease to be regarded as a nest of idols, or of lustful provocative things, which are highly displeasing to God). Ammanati died on 22 April 1592.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The best general account of Ammanati's work is contained in an excellent chapter of Venturi (X-ii, pp. 346-432). On the early work of Ammanati see especially A. M. Gabrielli ('Su Bartolomeo Ammanati', in *Critica d'Arte*, ii, 1937, pp. 89-95) and M. G. Ciardi Dupré ('Prima attività dell'Ammanati scultore', in *Paragone*, 1961, No. 135, pp. 3-28). Ammanati's work in Venice is discussed by S. Bettini ('Note sui soggiorni veneti di B. Ammanati', in *Le Arti*,

iii, 1940-1, pp. 20-7), and his work in Rome by L. Biagi ('Di Bartolommeo Ammanati e di alcune sue opere', in *L'Arte*, xxvi, 1923, pp. 49-66). The fountain planned for the Palazzo Vecchio is reconstructed in a remarkable article by Kriegbaum ('Ein verschollenes Brunnenwerk des Bartolommeo Ammanati', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, iii, 1919-32, pp. 71-103).

*Plate 73: VICTORY*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The principal source for the Nari monument of Ammanati, for which the Victory was carved, is the life of the sculptor by Baldinucci: 'Fu poi chiamato a Urbino . . . ma essendo in quel tempo seguita la morte del Duca, convennegli tornare a Firenze, dove col suo scarpello fece il Sepolcro di marmo, che doveva esser posto nella Chiesa della Santissima Nunziata per Mario Nari Romano, che combattè con Francesco Musi. Aveva egli figurata la Vittoria, che sotto di se teneva un prigionie, e ancora aveva scolpito due fanciulli, e la statua di esso Mario sopra la cassa; ma fra'l non sapersi di certo da qual parte fosse stata la vittoria, e'l poco servizio, che il povero Ammanato ricevè dal Bandinello, quell'opera non si scoperse mai, onde essendone poi state levate le statue, fu quella della Vittoria collocata in una delle testate nel secondo cortile di quel Convento, dalla parte della Chiesa, presso alla Cappella degli Accademici del Disegno. I fanciulli furono posti un di qua, e un di là avanti all'Altar maggiore, facendo loro fare ufizio d'Angioli, che sostengono candellieri, e non son molti mesi che a cagione di non so qual disegnato nuovo acconcime, sono stati tolti di detto luogo. La statua di Mario fu portata altrove; quest'incidente di non essersi potuta quell'opera scoprire, apportò a Bartolommeo tanto disgusto, che immantinente lasciò la patria, ed a Venezia di nuovo se n'ando' (Then he was summoned to Urbino . . . but since the death of the Duke occurred at that time, he was obliged to return to Florence, where he carved the marble tomb of Mario Nari of Rome, who fought a duel with Francesco Musi. It was intended that this should be installed in the church of the Annunziata. Ammanati carved the figure of Victory with a prisoner beneath, and two boys, and the effigy of Mario on the tomb chest, but partly because of uncertainty as to what victory was represented, and partly because of the intrigues which Bandinelli directed against poor Ammanati, the work was not unveiled. After the statues had been removed from it, the Victory was placed in the second cloister of the convent, on the side towards the church, near the chapel of the Accademici del Disegno. The boys were placed one on each side in front of the high altar, doing service as candle-bearing angels, but after a few months, because of some newly designed restoration, they were moved from this position. The effigy of Mario was transported elsewhere. The fact that he was not able to show this work, caused Bartolommeo such disgust, that he forthwith left his native town, and went once more to Venice). Bandinelli's part in frustrating the monument is attested by Borghini. The Victory (which was installed in a niche in the south-east corner of the cloister and was subsequently in the Giardino dei Semplici) and the effigy of Nari are now in the

Museo Nazionale; the two figures of boys have disappeared. The commission for the Nari monument probably dates from 1540, and Ammanati's departure for Venice may have resulted from a visit paid to Florence by Jacopo Sansovino in this year (Ciardi Dupré).

*Plate 74: THE FOUNTAIN OF NEPTUNE*  
Piazza della Signoria, Florence

The project for a fountain in the Piazza della Signoria is first mentioned in a letter of Bandinelli to Jacopo Guidi of 15 March 1550 (Bottari-Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere*, i, pp. 90-2, No. XXXVII): 'E si degni notare i disegni che io gli ho mandati delle fonti, perchè sua eccellenza più volte mi ha detto che vuole che superino tutte le altre, e per ubbidirlo, vostra signoria gli dica, come io ho diligentemente investigato e ricerco de' maestri che hanno lavorato sopra le fonti di Messina, e trovo che sono magnifiche . . . io prometto a sua eccellenza, se le mie fatiche gli piaceranno, fargli una fontana, che non solo supererà tutte quelle che oggi si veggono sopra della terra, ma io voglio che i Greci e i Romani non abbiano mai avuto una simile fontana; e se gli altri signori hanno speso dieci, darò tali ordini brievi, che sua eccellenza non spenderà cinque' (Please take note of the designs for fountains which I have sent, as His Excellency has told me more than once that he wants them to surpass all others; and let Your Lordship tell him how, in obeying him, I have diligently searched out and made enquiries from masters who have worked on the fountains of Messina, and I find they are magnificent. . . . I promise His Excellency, if my labours please him, to make him a fountain which will not only surpass all those to be seen at the present day on the surface of the earth. I intend that the Greeks and Romans should never have had such a fountain; and if the other gentlemen have spent ten, I shall give such tight instructions that His Excellency will not spend five). The scheme for the fountain is alluded to again in a letter of 11 February 1551 (op. cit., pp. 92-4) in conjunction with a plan for a fountain outside the Palazzo Pitti: 'ed avandomi a disporre a trovare invenzione di fontane, farò ancora qualche disegno della fontana di Piazza, come mi comandò l'ill. duca' (and as I am to prepare to work out fountain schemes, I will make some more designs for the fountain in the Piazza, as the Illustrious Duke commands me). The building of the fountain was contingent on the provision of water, which was eventually brought from a spring at Ginevra outside the Porta San Niccolò, by way of the Ponte a Rubiconte and the Borgo de' Greci to the Piazza. This is commemorated on a medal of Cosimo I (Supino, *Il Medagliere Mediceo nel R. Museo Nazionale di Firenze*, Florence, 1899, No. 384, p. 134), showing on the reverse a basin with a figure of Neptune drawn by sea-horses raising his trident, and an aqueduct. The principal source for the later history of the fountain is Vasari, who records that a block of marble ten and a half braccia in height and five braccia in width was excavated at Carrara, and was immediately inspected by Bandinelli (probably in 1558), who paid a deposit of fifty scudi for the block. Through Eleanora of Toledo he obtained authority to make models for a projected fountain for the Piazza making use of the new block ('nel quale luogo si

facesse una gran fonte che gittasse acqua, nel mezzo della quale fusse Nettunno sopra il suo carro tirato da cavagli marini; e dovesse cavarsi questa figura di questo marmo. Di questa figura fece Bandinelli più d'uno modello' (in this place a large fountain, spouting water, was to be made, in the middle of which was to be Neptune on his car, drawn by sea-horses; and this figure was to be carved from marble. Bandinelli made more than one model for it). In 1559 the owner of the marble asked for the balance of the sum due, and the block was then purchased by Vasari for Cosimo I. At this point both Cellini and Ammanati, resenting the opportunity offered to Bandinelli, asked permission to make models in competition with Bandinelli's. The Duke agreed to this, not because he proposed to open the fountain to competition, but because he felt that the stimulus might be beneficial to Bandinelli. The latter 'vedutasi addosso questa concorrenza, ne ebbe grandissimo travaglio, dubitando più della disgrazia del duca, che d'altra cosa; e di nuovo si messe a fare modelli' (was much upset at the announcement of this competition, suspecting the displeasure of the Duke, rather than anything else; and he set himself to making models again). Bandinelli then proceeded to Carrara, where he defaced the block in such a way as to render it less useful to his opponents. This phase in the history of the fountain closes with the death of Bandinelli (1560). Thereafter Cellini and Ammanati pressed the Duke for the commission, the latter enlisting the support of Michelangelo, who, with the concurrence of Vasari, was instrumental in securing the commission for Ammanati. After further protests from Cellini, this sculptor was also allowed to make a full-scale model of the figure, both artists working in segregated areas in the Loggia dei Lanzi. This situation was further complicated by the claims of Giovanni Bologna (who was allowed to prepare a model in S. Croce) and of Vincenzo Danti (who prepared a model in the house of Alessandro d'Ottaviano de' Medici), Francesco Moschino (who prepared a model at Pisa), and Vincenzo de' Rossi, who also claimed the right to make a model but seems not to have carried this out (see Gaye, iii, p. 24: 'Per sapere io che la eccellenza vostra vole far fare uno Gigante di marmo, e desideroso di essere anche io nel numero di quelli che la servano, la prego che la si voglia degnare, poichè di mio nonè opere in firenze, e qua a Roma ciè di Bartolomeo et del Moschino; e mià intendere la verità che tale leriuscierà in modello, che poi in marmo sarà adrieto un gran pezo . . . ora la Eccellenza vostra faccia vedere il mio teseo quando rapì elena, magior del naturale e di marmo, chè una tanta opera, quale è codesto gigante') (Knowing that Your Excellency is having a colossal figure made in marble, and desiring that I too should be one of those that serve you, I beg you will allow it; for there is no work of mine in Florence, while there are works by Bartolommeo and Moschino in Rome. I think that what goes well for them in the model, will turn out to be a great deal inferior in the actual marble . . . let Your Excellency inspect my Theseus carrying off Helen, which is over life-size and of marble, and just such a work as the colossal figure is to be). Cellini later presented his two models for the statue to Francesco de' Medici. An objective account of the competition is provided in a letter of 14 October 1560 from Leone Leoni to Michelangelo (Plon, *Cellini*, p. 236 n.): 'L'Amanato ha hauto e

tirato il marmo nela sua stanza; Benvenuto balena et sputa veleno et getta fuoco per gli hocchi e brava il duca con la lingua. Hano fatto questi modelli quattro persone; l'Amanato, Benvenuto, un Perugino (Vincenzo Danti), et un Fiamengo detto Gian bologna. L'Amanato si dice ha fatto meglio, ma io non l'ho veduto per eser fasciato per lo tirare del marmo in quel luogho dove è. Benvenuto mi ha mostrato il suo, ond'io gli ho pietà che in sua vecchiezza sia così male stato ubidito da la terra e da la borra. Il Perugino ha fatto assai per giovine; ma non ha voce in capitolo. Il Fiammengho è condanato in le spese et ha lavorato la sua terra molto pulitamente: Ecco detto a V.S. la gigantata' (Ammanati has had the marble carried into his shop, and Benvenuto is flaring up and spitting out venom, flashing fire from his eyes and flouting the Duke with his tongue. Four people did these models: Ammanati, Benvenuto, a man from Perugia, and a Fleming called Giambologna. Ammanati says he has done best; but I have not seen his model, since it is bound up for the transport of the marble to the place where it is. Benvenuto has shown me his; over which I am sorry that in his old age he should be so ill served by the clay and rags. The man from Perugia has done very well for one so young, but has no influence. The Fleming was turned down on account of his expense, but worked his clay very cleanly. So much for this giant contest). The competition is also described in the *Vita* of Cellini. The sequence of construction of the fountain is established by Wiles (*Fountains of the Florentine Sculptors*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 119) on the basis of information in the manuscript *Diario Fiorentino* of Settimani, which shows that the marble for the fountain was brought to Florence on 22 June 1560. On 17 October 1560 it was taken to the Loggia dei Lanzi. Donatello's Marzocco, then on the ringhiera at the left of the Palazzo Vecchio, was moved on 5 March 1564 to enable work to begin on the new fountain, and on 4 May 1565 the foundations were laid. On 3 October 1565 the Gigante was set up among temporary figures as part of the decorations for the marriage of Francesco de' Medici and Giovanna d'Austria. Work on the marble and bronze subsidiary figures began in March 1571, and the fountain (Fig. 96) was unveiled in June 1575. The appearance of the fountain in its temporary installation in 1565 is described by Vasari. The *Riposo* of Borghini (1584) contains an analysis of the pose of the Neptune, a discussion of the appropriateness of the signs of the zodiac on the chariot, and a description of the completed work: 'Ma perchè il marmo gli riuscì stretto nelle spalle, non potè egli, siccome desiderava, far mostrare alla sua figura attitudine con le braccia alzate; ma fu costretto à farla con gran difficultà, come hoggisi vede. Il qual Nettuno, come sapete è alto braccia dieci, e ha fra le gambe tre Tritoni di marmo, posando sopra una gran conca marina, che gli serve per carro, à cui sono in atto di tirarla quattro cavalli due di marmo bianco, e due di mistio: il gran vaso in cui l'acqua christallina (che per molti zampilli salendo in aria ricade) è fatto à otto facce di marmo mistio, di cui le quattro minori di bambini di bronzo con molte cose marine, d'alcuni Cornucopi, e d'uno Epitaffio in mezzo sono fatte adorne: e sopra il piano d'esse (che più d'ogn'altro all'intorno s'innalza) posano quattro statue di metallo più grandi del naturale, due femine figurate per Teti e per Dori, e due maschi rappresentanti

due Dei marini, e à più di queste facce otto Satiri di bronzo seggono in varie attitudini: le facce poi maggiori son fatte basse, acciò che l'acque chiare, che nella gran conca vanno ondeggiando si possan vedere. Ma troppo lungo sarei, se i gradi di marmo, se le pile basse, e se gl'infiniti ornamenti di questa fontana, che per settanta bocche manda fuore l'acque sue, volessi raccontare' (As the block of marble was narrow around the shoulders, he could not, as he wished, give his figure a pose with the arms raised, but had to work it under great difficulties, as you can see even now. The Neptune is, as you know, ten braccia high, and has three marble tritons between its legs; it stands on a great sea-shell which serves as a chariot, and four horses are pulling this, two of them of white marble and two variegated. The great basin, holding the crystal-clear water which rises into the air through many spouts and then falls back again, is made with eight sides of variegated marble, and the four smaller ones are decorated with bronze putti and many objects from the sea, some cornucopias and an epitaph in the middle. On the top of these, and higher than anything else around, stand four metal statues, larger than life-size; two of them are female figures, representing Thetis and Doris, and two are male, representing sea-gods. At the foot of the sides there are eight satyrs sitting in different attitudes. The longer sides are low, so that one can see the clear water rippling in the great basin. But it would take too long to describe the marble steps, the shallow basins and innumerable ornaments of this fountain, which pours out water from seventy outlets). In addition to Ammanati the names of the following sculptors are mentioned in documents relating to the fountain (see A. Lensi, *Il Palazzo Vecchio*, Milan, 1929, pp. 200-2): Andrea Calamech (1514-78), Michele Fiammingo, Girolamo dei Noferi da Sassoferato, Battista di Benedetto Fiammeri (1530-1606), Donato Berti, and Raffaello Fortini. Of these sculptors Calamech alone is known as an independent artist. Fiammeri was later active as a painter at the Gesù, and Raffaello Fortini in 1600 prepared models for a relief and four figures of Apostles for the doors of the Duomo at Pisa, which were 'biasimati da ognuno' and were not executed. There is considerable divergence of view as to Ammanati's responsibility for the subsidiary figures on the fountain, the criteria of judgment varying between those of Venturi ('Vari furono gli esecutori dei bronzi della fonte di piazza, ma l'Ammanati dovette sorvegliarne dappresso il lavoro, tanto è l'unità d'effetti raggiunta tra figura a figura') and Kriegbaum ('Augenscheinlich ist nur der bärige Flussgott von der Hand des Meisters selbst, alle andern Figuren stammen von nicht nur selbstständig ausführenden, sondern auch selbstständig entwerfenden und modellierenden Gehilfen und verschleiern das Bild der Persönlichkeit eher als dass sie es klärt'). The attributions for individual figures advanced by Venturi are based on suggestions by Kriegbaum, and are as follows:

*North-west face.*

Bearded Marine God (Nereus?) (Ammanati).  
Cartouche beneath (assistant of Ammanati).  
Satyr (left) (Vincenzo de' Rossi).  
Faun (right) (Guglielmo Fiammingo).

*South-west face.*

Doris with Shell (Calamech after model by Ammanati).  
Cartouche beneath (assistant of Ammanati).  
Faun (left) (Ammanati).  
Satyr (right) (Vincenzo de' Rossi).

*South-east face.*

Thetis with Shield of Achilles (Ammanati).  
Cartouche beneath (Ammanati).  
Satyr (left) (unattributed).  
Satyr (right) (described as missing by Baldinucci; the present figure executed by Francesco Pozzi in 1831).

*North-east face.*

Youth with Cornucopia (Vincenzo Danti).  
Cartouche beneath (assistant of Ammanati).  
Faun (left) (Guglielmo Fiammingo).  
Faun (right) (Guglielmo Fiammingo).

There is no documentary evidence of Vincenzo Danti's participation in the fountain. The attributions to Vincenzo de' Rossi are also conjectural.

**Plate 75: THE DEL MONTE MONUMENTS**  
S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome

On the death of Cardinal Antonio del Monte (20 September 1533) his two nephews, Cardinal Giovanmaria and Balduino del Monte, were required, under the terms of the Cardinal's will, to erect a marble tomb in S. Pietro in Montorio. After the election of Giovanmaria del Monte (8 February 1550) as Pope Julius III, plans were laid for the construction of a memorial chapel in the Cappella di San Paolo of S. Pietro in Montorio, containing monuments to Cardinal Antonio del Monte and to Fabiano del Monte (d. 2 July 1498), who was buried in the Chiesa della Misericordia at Monte San Savino. The construction was entrusted to Vasari and the sculpture to Ammanati. The complex history of the tombs can be reconstructed from passages in Vasari's *Vite*, from the contract for the chapel, and from letters of Borghini and Michelangelo. The first passage occurs in the life of the sculptor Simone Mosca and reads as follows: 'Avendo dunque Giorgio Vasari, che portò sempre amore al Mosca, trovatolo in Roma, dove anch'egli era stato chiamato al servizio del papa, pensò ad ogni modo d'avergli a dare da lavorare; perciò avendo il cardinal vecchio di Monte, quando morì, lasciato agli eredi che se gli dovesse fare in San Piero in Montorio una sepoltura di marmo, ed avendo il detto Papa Giulio suo erede e nipote ordinato che si facesse, e datone cura al Vasari, egli voleva che in detta sepoltura facesse il Mosca qualche cosa d'intaglio straordinaria. Ma avendo Giorgio fatto alcuni modelli per detta sepoltura, il Papa conferì il tutto con Michelagnolo Buonarroti prima che volesse risolversi. Onde avendo detto Michelagnolo a Sua Santità che non s'impacciasse con intagli, perchè, se bene arricchiscono l'opere, confondono le figure; là dove il lavoro di quadro, quando è fatto bene, è molto più bello che l'intaglio, e meglio accompagna la statua, perciò le figure non amano altri intagli attorno; così ordinò Sua Santità che si facesse. Perchè il Vasari non potendo dare che fare al Mosca in quell'opera, fu

licenziato; e si finì senza intagli la sepoltura, che tornò molto meglio che con essi non arebbe fatto' (Giorgio Vasari, who always liked Mosca, met him in Rome, where he too had been summoned to the Pope's service, and thought he would certainly have some work to give him. For the old Cardinal del Monte, when he died, had left instructions to his heirs that a marble tomb should be built for him in S. Pietro a Montorio; and Pope Julius, his heir and nephew, had ordered that it should be done and had put Vasari in charge, who wished that Mosca should do some exceptional piece of carving on the tomb. But, after Giorgio had made some models for the tomb, the Pope discussed the whole question with Michelangelo Buonarroti before he would make up his mind. At this Michelangelo told His Holiness not to involve himself in carving, because, although it enriches the work, it makes for confusion with the figures; while simple framing, on the other hand, when it is well done, is much more beautiful than carving, and goes better with figures, since it does not suit figures to have other carving round them. And His Holiness ordered that it should be done in this way. So Vasari could not give Mosca anything to do in that work, and he was dismissed; and the tomb was finished without any carving and was much better than it would have been with it). The second passage occurs in the life of Michelangelo: 'avendo il Vasari fatto disegni e modelli, papa Giulio, che stimò sempre la virtù di Michelagnolo, ed amava il Vasari, volse che Michelagnolo ne facesse il prezzo fra loro; ed il Vasari suplicò il papa a far che Michelagnolo ne pigliassi la protezione: e perchè il Vasari aveva proposto per gl'intagli di quella opera Simon Mosca, e per le statue Raffael Montelupo, consigliò Michelagnolo che non vi si facesse intagli di fogliami, nè manco ne' membri dell'opera di quadro, dicendo che dove vanno figure di marmo, non ci vuole essere altra cosa. . . . Non volse Michelagnolo che il Montelupo facesse le statue, avendo visto quanto s'era portato male nelle sue della sepoltura di Giulio secondo, e si contentò più presto ch'elle fussino date a Bartolommeo Ammanati' (Since Vasari had made drawings and models, Pope Julius, who always respected the genius of Michelangelo, and loved Vasari, wanted Michelangelo to fix the price between them; and Vasari begged the Pope to get Michelangelo to take it under his supervision. Vasari had suggested Simone Mosca for the carved decoration of the work, and Raffaello da Montelupo for the figures, but Michelangelo advised that there should not be any foliate carving on it, not even on the structural part, and that there should be nothing else. . . . Michelangelo did not want Montelupo to do the figures, because he had seen how badly he had performed in those of his own tomb of Julius II, and he preferred that they should be given to Bartolommeo Ammanati). According to his own account, Vasari came to Rome immediately upon the election of Pope Julius III, whom he had known at Bologna, and the promise of the contract for the chapel must have been proffered soon after this time. The choice of Ammanati as the sculptor of the tombs in place of Raffaello da Montelupo was presumably decided on before 28 May 1550, when Borghini learned at Padua (Frey, *Vasari's Literarischer Nachlass*, No. cxl) that 'la sepoltura del papa, quanto appartiene alla scoltura, l'aveva l'Ammanato. Non intesi già se per

ordine vostro (of Vasari) o del papa. E questo intesi da Mantova gentil'huomo Padovano, el quale l'Ammanato ha fatto molti lavori et belli' (Ammanati had the commission for that part of the work on the Pope's tomb which involves sculpture. Whether this is on your instructions or the Pope's is not yet known. I learned this from Mantova, a Paduan gentleman from whom Ammanati has done many beautiful works). On 3 June 1550 a contract was signed, whereby Vasari bound himself to construct the chapel and tombs within thirty months on the basis of a wooden scale model submitted to the Pope. The contract (Frey, op. cit., ii, pp. 869-70) names Ammanati as the sculptor of one effigy and one allegorical figure ('et quelle per ordine di Michelagnolo Buonarroti et mia fussino date a Bartolommeo Ammanati, scultore Fiorentino') and reserves the choice of the sculptor of the second effigy and allegorical figure to Vasari and Michelangelo. Immediately after the signing of the contract (6 June 1550) Vasari and Ammanati left for Carrara to select the marble for the tombs. It is made clear in letters of Michelangelo (Frey, op. cit., No. cxli and i, pp. 289-94) that at this point difficulties arose, in so far as the Pope, on 1 August 1550, proposed transferring the project for the chapel from S. Pietro in Montorio to S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini. On 13 October 1550, however, this proposal was cancelled, and S. Pietro in Montorio was confirmed as the site of the monuments. A letter of Michelangelo of 22 August 1550 suggests that Ammanati had already begun work on the sculptures: 'Circa all'opera vostra, io sono stato a veder Bartolommeo, e parmi che la vadi tanto bene, quant'è possibile. Lui lavora con fede e con amore e è valente giovane, come sapete, e tanto da bene, che e' si può chiamare l'angelo Bartolommeo' (About your work: I have been to see Bartolommeo, and I think he is getting on as well as possible. He is working faithfully and enthusiastically, and is a worthy young man, as you know; and there is so much good in him that you could call him Bartolommeo the angel). Vasari returned to Rome at the end of December 1550. A receipt signed by him on 3 October 1552 relates to the marble parapet, and in a letter of Borghini to Vasari of 22 October 1552 work in the chapel is described as complete. Ammanati's sculptures, however, were not ready till the summer of 1553, and payments for them were made on 25 June 1553, 11 September 1553 and July 1554. There is some doubt as to the extent of Vasari's responsibility for the design of the Chapel in the form in which it was carried out. A preliminary drawing by Vasari in the Louvre differs from the chapel as executed (i) in the greater elaboration of its decoration, (ii) in the totally different form of the sarcophagi, and (iii) in the mannerist posing of the figure sculpture. The architecture of the chapel is credited by Venturi (XI-ii, pp. 220-2) to Ammanati; it is likely that its impressive scheme is due not only to the collaboration of this artist but to the intervention of Michelangelo. Certainly the chapel as executed represents not merely a simplification of the scheme of the Louvre drawing, but a radical departure from it at many points. The figure sculpture of the tombs (Fig. 67) comprises (left) the effigy of Antonio del Monte, with, above, a figure of Religion, (right) the effigy of Fabiano del Monte, with, above, a figure of Justice, and (front) a marble balustrade with four pairs of putti and two portrait reliefs.

## VINCENZO DANTI

(b. 1530; d. 1576)

Born at Perugia, and trained as a goldsmith at Perugia and in Rome, Vincenzo Danti was inscribed as a member of the guild of goldsmiths in his native town on 28 January 1548. His first important work, the seated bronze statue of Pope Julius III outside the Duomo in Perugia, was commissioned jointly from him and from his father on 10 May 1553, but is signed by Vincenzo Danti alone (VINCENTIUS DANTIUS PERUSINUS ADHUC PUBER FACIEBAT); it was finished by the summer of 1556, and the concluding payment for it dates from 7 April 1559. In April 1554 Danti was at work at Perugia on a silver-gilt vessel, but by 5 August 1557 he had joined the artists assembled at the court of Cosimo I in Florence. Between this date and 1573 he worked principally in Florence, returning intermittently to Perugia, where he spent the last years of his life and died on 26 May 1576. While in Florence, he undertook the monument of Carlo de' Medici in the Duomo at Prato (erected 1566), executed the marble group of Honour triumphant over Falsehood (see Plate 77 below), and three figures over the entrance of Uffizi (1563), and cast the group of the Decollation of the Baptist over the south door of the Baptistry (see Plate 76 below), and the large relief of Moses and the Brazen Serpent (Fig. 85) and a safe-door for Cosimo I (both in the Museo Nazionale, Florence). One of his last works in Florence is the Venus Anadyomene in the Studiolo of the Palazzo Vecchio (see Plate 78 below). To the same late date belong a marble Venus in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence, and a marble Leda and the Swan in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. A statue of Cosimo I in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, was carved after 1568. In 1567 Danti published his celebrated *Primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni*, dedicated to Cosimo I de' Medici.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** For the career of Danti see W. Bombe, in Thieme Künstlerlexikon (viii, 1913, pp. 384-5), and Venturi (X-ii, pp. 507-29). An article by Kriegbaum ('Zum "Cupido des Michelangelo" in London', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen*, n.f. iii, Vienna, 1929, pp. 247-57), though based on a misattribution, contains an interesting analysis of Danti's style, which is investigated with greater sureness and perspicacity by Keutner ('The Palazzo Pitti "Venus" and other Works by Vincenzo Danti', in *Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, pp. 427-31). The standard edition of the *Trattato* is by Barocchi (*Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra Manierismo e Controriforma*, i, Bari, 1960, pp. 209-69).

Plate 76: THE DECOLLATION OF  
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST  
Baptistry, Florence

The three-figure group of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 40) over the south door of the Baptistry is described

by Borghini in the following terms: 'Gittò con gran felicità le tre figure del bronzo, che si veggono sopra la porta di San Giovanni di verso la Misericordia, e vennero tanto bene, tanto sottili, e tanto pulite, che non bisognò rinettarle: nel mezzo si vede l'humiltà, e la patienza di S. Giovanni, che ginocchioni con le man giunte attende il dispietato colpo, che gli dee venir sopra: dalla parte sinistra la fieraZZa dell'ardito ministro co' capelli rabbuffati, e colla spada alta in atto di tagliarli la testa: e dalla parte destra la crudeltà mescolata con orrore d'Erodiana, che con un bacino sotto il braccio aspetta di portare il dimandato dono all'iniqua madre' (He cast most successfully the three bronze figures which stand above the door of S. Giovanni opposite the Misericordia; and they came out so well, so delicately and so cleanly that there was no need to polish them. In the centre are the humility and long-suffering of St. John, who is kneeling with hands together, waiting for the pitiless blow to come from above. On the left is the ferocity of the savage executioner, with his hair disordered and his sword held high in the act of cutting off St. John's head. And on the right cruelty is mixed with horror in the person of the daughter of Herodias, waiting with a charger under her arm to bring the commanded gift to her evil mother). On the socles of the three figures are (centre) three cardinal virtues, (left) allegory of lust, (right) allegory of intemperance. The group was set in place on 22 June 1571 (Lapini, *Diario Fiorentino*: 'A' dì 22 giugno 1571, in venerdì, che fu l'antivigilia di San Giovanni Battista, a ore 23 in circa, si scoperse quella decollazione di S. Giovanni Battista, di bronzo, che è sopra la porta di detto S. Giovanni, che guarda verso Mercato Vecchio, condotta e fatta per mano di Vincenzo perugino. Ritornossi su a' dì 15 e 16 di detto mese, ma si scoperse poi a' dì 22 com' è detto') (On Friday 22 June 1571, the day before the eve of the festival of St. John the Baptist, at about 11 p.m., the bronze group over the door of S. Giovanni facing the Mercato Vecchio, was unveiled; it was the work of Vincenzo of Perugia. It had been put up on the 15th and 16th of June, but was unveiled later on the 22nd, as I have said). Two documentary references to the making of the figures are published by Frey (Vasari, *Vite*, i, ed. Frey, 1911, p. 349):

1570. Statue tre di bronzo, che si facevano da Perugino per mettere sopra la porta di S. Giovanni, che guarda verso la Misericordia, si gettono, dove lavora l'Ammannato e Giovan Bologna 1570. Fa dal 1564 al 1573.

1571. Statue tre di bronzo sudetto, fatte per Vincenzo Danti Perugino scultore, si pagano fior. 400 l'una, la fattura solamente, 1571. Fa dal 1564 al 1573.

The relevance of the date 1564 in these two documents is not clear, and the figures were probably modelled in 1569-70. Paatz (ii, pp. 197, 245) infers that the tabernacle in which the figures are set was designed at the same time as the bronze group.

Plate 77:  
HONOUR TRIUMPHANT OVER FALSEHOOD  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

Vasari, after describing the failure of Danti's attempt to produce a bronze group of Hercules and Antaeus for the Castello fountain, refers to the Honour triumphant over Falsehood in the following terms: 'Voltossi dunque, per non sottoporre le fatiche al volere della fortuna, a lavorare di marmo: condusse in poco tempo di un pezzo solo di marmo due figure, cioè l'Onore che ha sotto l'Inganno, con tanta diligenza, che parve non avesse mai fatto altro che maneggiare i scarpelli ed il mazzuolo; onde alla testa di quell'Onore, che è bella, fece i capelli ricci, tanto ben traforati, che paiono naturali e propri, mostrando oltre ciò di benissimo intendere gl'ignudi: la quale statua è oggi nel cortile della casa del signore Sforza Almeni nella Via de' Servi' (He then turned to marble sculpture, so that his labours would not be dependent on the will of Fortune. Within a short time he worked two figures in a single piece of marble, namely Honour standing over Falsehood, and did them with such diligence as to seem never to have handled anything but chisels and mallet. He made the hair on the head of the figure of Honour very elaborate, and hollowed it out so well that it seems natural and real; and he showed too an excellent understanding of the nude. This statue is now in the courtyard of Signor Sforza Almeni's house in the Via de' Servi). The group is also described by Borghini and Pascoli, who states that as a result of its success Danti was invited by Sforza Almeni to undertake garden sculptures at Fiesole. All early sources are in agreement that the group was the first marble sculpture executed by Danti in Florence, and it is generally assumed to date from immediately after the completion of the safe door for the Palazzo Vecchio in 1561 (cf. U. Middeldorf and F. Kriegbaum, 'Forgotten Sculpture by Domenico Poggini', in *Burlington Magazine*, liii, 1928, p. 10 n., and Venturi, X-ii, p. 509). The group was purchased by the Grand-Duke Pietro Leopoldo in 1775, and placed at the end of the Stradone in the Boboli Gardens, whence it was transferred to the Bargello. A terracotta sketch-model (H. 46.5 cm.) in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, is identified by Brinckmann (*Barock Bozzetti*, i, 22, pp. 64-5) as a preliminary study for the present group. The open pose used in this group seems, however, to belong to a rather later point in Danti's development, and it is rightly regarded by Venturi (op. cit., pp. 514-5) as a later variant made in preparation for a bronze statuette in the Museo degli Argenti.

Plate 78: VENUS ANADYOMENE  
Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

In 1570 the apartments of Francesco de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio were decorated under the direction of Vasari. Among them was a newly constructed Studiolo, which fulfilled the function of a 'guardaroba di cose rare e pretiose, et per valuta, et per arte, come sarebbe a dire Gioie, Medaglie, Pietre intagliate, Cristalli lavorati et vasi, ingegni, et simil cose

non di troppa grandezza: riposte ne proprii armadii ciascuna nel suo genere' (cabinet of objects that are rare and precious, both for their value and their art, such as jewels, medals, engraved gems and crystal, vases, instruments, and similar things of moderate size, kept in cupboards each according to its kind). The wall surfaces of the room were designed to accommodate a sequence of paintings, with eight niches for statuettes. The matter of the programme for the statuettes and paintings was referred by Vasari to Borghini, who replied on 29 August 1570 (Frey, *Vasaris Literarischer Nachlass*, ii, No. DCCXLVIII): 'Io vi mando una lunga diceria sopra lo stanzino del principe, et chi vuol più o meglio faccia da se; che questo è tutto quello che io so. Voi vedrete, et perché sintenda più facilmente vi mando in su uno spartimento segnato cosa per cosa' (I send you a long screed about the Prince's little room, and if anyone wants either more or better let him do it himself; this is all I know. You will see I am sending as well a plan marked item by item, so that it will be understood more easily). Borghini's invention (for which see A. Del Vita, 'Lo Zibaldone di Giorgio Vasari', in *Il Vasari*, i, 1927-8, pp. 150-63) begins by describing the purpose of the room (see above) and continues: 'Però havea pensato, che tutta questa inventione fosse dedicata alla natura et all'arte, mettendoci statue che rappresentino quelli che furono inventori, o cagioni, o (come credette l'antica poesia) tutori et preposti à tesori della natura. . . . Et perchè la natura ha per subietto, nelle sue operazioni, et effetti principalmente i quattro elementi, de' quali due sono come il corpo et le matiere di queste cose, che è la terra et l'acqua; gli altri due servono per efficienti et per operatori, che è l'aria et molto più il fuoco, essendo le facce quattro io ne accomoderei uno per ciascuna in quel miglior modo che si potessi. . . . Però farei così cominciandomi dalla Terra. In una faccia nelle due nicchie metterei la statua di Pluto, non quel fratello di Giove, ma un altro creduto da Poeti Dio della Ricchezza. . . . Nell'altra la Terra o Ope che la si habbia a chiamare. . . . Per l'acqua metterei nelle nicchie due statue di donne perchè l'acqua è molto generativa. . . . Per la prima piglierei Venere in su la sua conca marina, con perle in mano. Nell'altra Amphitrite o altra ninfa marina, la qual vorrei da mezzo in giù pesce come sono le sirene con ambre et coralli in mano, che sono le gioie del mare. . . . Per l'aria pensavo di pigliare per la femina Giunone tenuta dagli antichi signora dell'aria. . . . Per il mastio metterei il vento Borea, che sarebbe un giovane, con l'ale. . . et a lui dare in mano il cristallo, che si congela per il gran freddo. . . . Nell'ultimo per il foco metterei Apollo signor della luce, et del calore, un bellissimo giovane. . . . Nell'altra nicchia metterei Vulcano, per le miniere forti, come acciai, ferri, dove ha il principal luogo in operare, il fuoco. . . .' (So I conceive that the whole invention should be dedicated to Nature and Science, and should include statues representing those who were discoverers or causes, or (as the ancient poets believed) teachers and guides to the treasures of Nature. . . . And the matter used by Nature in its operations and actions consists above all of the four elements. Two of these are, so to speak, their substance and material, namely Earth and Water; the other two act as factors and agents, namely Air and more particularly Fire. And since there are four walls, I would allot one element to each in the best way possible. . . . Therefore,

beginning with Earth, I should do it in the following way. On one side I should put in the two niches the statue of Pluto, not the brother of Jupiter, but another one of the same name, believed by the poets to be the god of Wealth. . . . In the second niche Earth, or Ope as she is called. . . . To stand for Water I should put two figures of women in the niches, because Water is very fruitful. . . . For the first I should take Venus on a seashell with pearls in her hand; in the second, Amphitrite or another sea-nymph, whom I should wish to be in the form of a fish from her waist down, as the Sirens are, and to have in her hand amber and coral, the jewels of the sea. . . . For Air I decided to take as the female representative Juno, who was considered by the ancients mistress of the Air. . . . As the male figure I should put the wind Boreas, who would be a youth with wings, and place crystal in his hand, since it solidifies with great cold. . . . On the last, representing Fire, I should put Apollo, master of light and warmth, a beautiful youth. . . . In the second niche I should put Vulcan, to stand for the hard metals such as steel and iron, in the working of which Fire is the main agent). In a further letter of 3 October 1570 Borghini expresses satisfaction that 'laltezza del principe sia contento della inventione', and immediately after he appears to have received drawings of the intended statuettes. On these he commented on 5 October 1570 (Frey, op. cit. ii, No. DCCLVII, pp. 534-5) that the representation of Pluto was incorrect and that 'dove e quella statua di Zefiro, ha a esser' Borea . . . avertiteci presto rispetto a chi ha a far', che la persona di Borea è d'altra qualità che quella di Zefiro' (There should be a Boreas where the figure of Zephyr now is . . . let whoever is doing it know at once that the character of Boreas is different from that of Zephyr). With the exception of the Galatea, who is not represented as a mermaid, Borghini's instructions seem in general to have been complied with. It is clear from a later passage in Borghini's letter of 3 October 1570 that the disposition of the paintings in the Studiolo was determined by the placing of the statuettes.

The eight statuettes (for the attributions of which see H. Keutner, 'The Palazzo Pitti Venus and other Works by Vincenzo Danti', in *Burlington Magazine*, c. 1958, p. 428 n.) are now set in their intended order, and are as follows:

*East wall.*

*Left niche.* Pluto (Fig. 132) (Domenico Poggini) (signed DOMEN. POGGINI. F., executed between February 1572 and July 1573).

*Right niche.* Ops (Fig. 131) (Ammanati) (executed between February 1572 and June 1573).

*South wall.*

*Left niche.* Galatea (Fig. 133) (Stoldo Lorenzi) (completed August 1573).

*Right niche.* Venus (Vincenzo Danti) (undocumented).

*West wall.*

*Left niche.* Juno (Fig. 134) (Giovanni Bandini) (executed between February 1572 and August 1573).

*Right niche.* Aeolus (signed 1573 L. FO. ELIAO. CANDDO FIAM. DI BRUGIA, for Elia Candido).

*North wall.*

*Left niche.* Apollo (Plate 79) (Giovanni Bologna) (executed between December 1573 and April 1575).

*Right niche.* Vulcan (Vincenzo de' Rossi) (executed by September 1572).

The statuettes were set in place in 1579, but were later dispersed and were reassembled only in 1910 (for this see G. Poggi, 'Lo studiolo di Francesco I in Palazzo Vecchio', in *Marzocco*, 11 December 1910). Incorrect attempts have been made to ascribe the Venus of Vincenzo Danti to Ammanati, and the Ops of Ammanati to Calamech, who left Florence in 1564. The Venus of Vincenzo Danti is mentioned by Pascoli ('una Venere in atto di rilegarsi le trecce').

## GIOVANNI BOLOGNA

(b. 1529; d. 1608)

Giovanni Bologna or Jean Boulogne was born in Douai in 1529. An earlier birth-date (1524) recorded by Baldinucci is incorrect. According to Vasari and Borghini (both of whom must have depended upon information supplied by the sculptor himself) he was trained in the studio of Jacques Dubroeucq, and travelled to Italy for purposes of study probably about 1554. After two years in Rome, on his return journey to Flanders he arrived in Florence (1556?), where he attracted the notice of Bernardo Vecchietti. His first Medicean commission, for the stemma of Cosimo I on the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa, dates from 1558-9, and in 1560 he emerged from obscurity with the competition for the Fountain of Neptune in Florence (see Plate 74 above).

Giovanni Bologna's work before this time is difficult to reconstruct. He has been credited with figures of David and Moses in Ste. Wautrade at Mons, and an alabaster figure of a kneeling Venus, formerly in the Lydig collection (untraced), must have been executed soon after he arrived in Florence. Baldinucci and other sources describe a figure of Venus carved for Vecchietti, which served to introduce the sculptor to Francesco de' Medici; this is possibly identical with the so-called Venus of the Grottacella (now set on a fountain in the Boboli Gardens), which is usually dated ca. 1572-3 but may have been produced at a far earlier time. To the period 1559-62 belong the Cortesi Bacchus (see Plate 80 below) and two fishing boys in the Museo Nazionale.

ale made for a fountain in the Casino Mediceo. A bronze figure of Florence on the Fountain of the Labyrinth at Petraia (Fig. 93), based on a model by Tribolo, dates from the same time, as does a bronze bust of Cosimo I in the Uffizi. Giovanni Bologna's first major work, the Fountain of Neptune at Bologna (see Plate 81 below), was begun in 1563 and completed in 1566. Concurrently he produced the earliest of his statuettes of Mercury (Museo Civico, Bologna, ca. 1563), which was later developed into a figure despatched in 1564-5 to the Emperor Maximilian II, and in 1580 into the so-called Medici Mercury in the Museo Nazionale, Florence. Small bronzes of the composition at Vienna and Naples date from 1575-9. Work on the Bologna fountain was interrupted by the gesso group of Florence triumphant over Pisa (1565), which was translated into marble in 1570 (Figs. 49-51), and was followed by the commissions from Francesco de' Medici for the Samson and a Philistine (see Plate 82 below) and from Cosimo I for the Fountain of Oceanus (see Plate 83 below). From the late sixties date the bronze birds (now in the Museo Nazionale, Florence) modelled for the grotto of the Villa Reale at Castello. In 1573-5 Giovanni Bologna executed the bronze Apollo for the Studio of Francesco de' Medici (see Plates 78, 79), which also exists in a bronze reduction and provides a firm point of reference for the dating of the sculptor's bronze statuettes. A figure of the Dwarf Morgante mounted on a Dragon, in the Museo Nazionale, cast for the garden on the roof of the Loggia dei Lanzi, dates from 1583-4. Giovanni Bologna's first major religious work, the Altar of Liberty in Lucca Cathedral (see Plate 84 below; 1577-9) was followed by commissions for the sculptures of the Grimaldi Chapel at Genoa (see Plate 87 below; 1579-85) and for the Salviati Chapel in S. Marco (see Plate 89 below; 1579-88). While engaged upon these works, he was also occupied with a secular subject, the Rape of the Sabines (see Plate 85 below). In the last decade of the century Giovanni Bologna's efforts were directed to the equestrian statue of Cosimo I (see Plate 90 below), the Hercules and the Centaur in the Loggia dei Lanzi (see Plate 91 below), and to a number of religious works, the bronze statue of St. Luke on Or San Michele (1597-1602), the related marble statue of St. Matthew in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo at Orvieto (carved by Francavilla from Giovanni Bologna's model in 1597-1600), two bronze angels carrying candlesticks in the Duomo at Pisa (1601), and his own funerary chapel in the Annunziata (1594-9), which includes versions of the Genoa Passion reliefs. The completion of the equestrian statue of Cosimo I gave rise to a number of similar commissions for mounted statues of Ferdinand I (1601-8) (Fig. 137), Henry IV of France (1604-11) (see Plate 95 below), and Philip III of Spain (1606-16), in which Giovanni Bologna's intentions were realised by Francavilla, Tacca and other sculptors. Giovanni Bologna died in Florence on 13 August 1608. An artist of great intellectual power, he was, after Michelangelo, the outstanding sculptor of his century, and though his sculptures, with few exceptions, were carved or cast in and for Florence, his style became a universal language through the small bronzes that were turned out in his studio. Giovanni Bologna is the only sixteenth-century Italian sculptor many of whose preliminary models survive; the most im-

portant nucleus of these, in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, throws much light on the sculptor's creative processes.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Study of Giovanni Bologna was dominated by a book by Desjardins (*La vie et l'oeuvre de Jean Bologne*, Paris, 1883) until 1936, when a thesis by Gramberg (*Giovanni Bologna: eine Untersuchung über die Werke seiner Wanderjahre, bis 1567*) opened a new phase of critical analysis. A more recent monograph by Dhanens (*Jean Boulogne: Giovanni Bologna Fiammingo*, Brussels, 1956) gives a thorough factual survey of the sculptor's works, and includes as appendices the texts of letters written to, by and about Giovanni Bologna, and the lives of the sculptor by Borghini and Baldinucci. Over and above the works cited below, reference may be made to the following books and articles. For Dubroeucq and Giovanni Bologna's Flemish sources and contemporaries see R. Hedicke (*Jacques Dubroeucq von Mons*, Strassburg, 1904), P. Champagne (*Jacques du Broeucq*, Charleroi, 1926), Devigne ('Le sculpteur W. D. van Tetrode, dit Guglielmo Fiammingo,' in *Oud Holland*, lvi, 1939, pp. 89-96), and D. Roggen-J. Withof ('Cornelis Floris,' in *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, viii, 1942, p. 79 f., ix, 1943, p. 133 f.). The best analyses of Giovanni Bologna's style are those of Kriegbaum ('Der Meister des "Centauro" am Ponte Vecchio,' in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xlii, 1928, pp. 135-40, and 'Der Bildhauer Giovanni Bologna,' in *Zur Florentiner Plastik des Cinquecento*, Munich, n.d.), Keutner ('Die Tabernakelstatuetten der Certosa zu Florenz,' in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, vii, 1955, pp. 139-44; 'Der giardino pensile der Loggia dei Lanzi und seine Fontäne,' in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, 1956, pp. 240-51) and J. Holderbaum ('A bronze by Giovanni Bologna and a painting by Bronzino,' in *Burlington Magazine*, xciii, 1956, p. 439). For the fountains see Wiles (*The Fountains of the Florentine Sculptors*, Cambridge, 1933), and for the small bronzes Bode ('Gian Bologna und seine Tätigkeit als Bildner von Kleinbronzen,' in *Kunst und Künstler*, ix, 1911, pp. 632-40).

**Plate 79: APOLLO**  
Palazzo Vecchio, Florence

See Plate 78 (above).

**Plate 80: BACCHUS**  
Borgo San Jacopo, Florence

The Bacchus, which has been exhibited in its present position over a fountain at the corner of the Borgo San Jacopo and Via Guicciardini only since 1838, is identified (Kriegbaum) with a statue mentioned by Vasari ('E di bronzo ha fatto la statua d'un Baccho, maggior del uiuo, a tutta tonda'), which is stated by Borghini (1584) to have been made for Lattanzio Cortesi ('Fece per Lattantio Cortesi vn Bacco di bronzo di braccia quattro'). The figure was in Medici possession in 1597. It has been conjecturally dated ca. 1559 (Kriegbaum), before 1562 (Dhanens), and ca. 1562-3 (Gramberg). The earliest of these datings is likely to be correct.

*Plate 81: THE FOUNTAIN OF NEPTUNE*  
Piazza del Nettuno, Bologna

Giovanni Bologna's first major commission, the Fountain of Neptune (Fig. 94) is described in laudatory terms by Vasari: 'Il quale ha condotto con bellissimi ornamenti di metallo la fonte, che nuouamente si è fatta in sulla piazza di san Petronio di Bologna, dinanzi al palazzo de' Signori, nella quale sono, oltre gl'altri ornamenti, quattro Serene su canti bellissime, con varij putti attorno, e maschere bizzarre, & straordinarie. Ma quello, che più importa, ha condotto, sopra e nel mezzo di detta fonte, un Nettuno di braccia sei, che è un bellissimo getto, e figura studiata, e condotta perfettamente' (He has executed with most beautiful bronze ornaments the fountain which has recently been set up in the Piazza di San Petronio at Bologna, in which there are four most beautiful Sirens at the corners, with various children round them, and bizarre and extraordinary masks. But what is more important, he has completed for a position above them in the centre of the fountain a Neptune six braccia in height, which is a most beautiful cast, and is perfectly studied and executed).

The fountain is also described by Borghini. The commission to Giovanni Bologna resulted from the competition for the Neptune fountain in Florence (see Plate 74 above), and he appears to have visited Bologna in connection with the fountain early in 1562. A contract for the structure of the fountain was signed on 2 August 1563 by Pietro Donato Cesi, Bishop of Narni and Vice-Legate in Bologna, with the Sicilian architect Tommaso Laureti, and immediately afterwards Laureti visited Florence to secure the services of Giovanni Bologna and the bronze caster Zanobio Portigiani ('per andare a Firenze e tornare e per condurre seco a Bologna: Maestro Gio Bologna quale a gettare l'opera di Metallo che va alla fonte'). A contract between the Vice-Legate on the one hand and Giovanni Bologna and Zanobio Portigiani on the other was signed at Bologna on 20 August 1563. This provides for the making of 'una figura di bronzo di grandezza de piedi novi, quattro puttini coi loro vasi dalle quali deve uscire l'acqua d'altezza de piedi 3 per ciascuno, e quattro Arpie d'altezza di tre piedi l'una o più secondo la corrispondenza della principal figura, quattro Armi, cioè quella di Sua S'ta, dell'Ill.mo Borromeo legato, del R.mo vicelegato predetto, et l'altra della Communita di Bologna.' The materials required for the figures were to be provided by the Vice-Legate, and Giovanni Bologna and Zanobio Portigiani were to receive jointly the sum of one thousand scudi. A 'modello piccolo de Nettuno' was completed by 31 December 1563, when a payment was made for the base, and in May 1564 this was submitted to Pope Pius IV. By mid-January 1565 the four harpies, the four dolphins, the coats-of-arms, swags and inscriptions, and certain other bronze components of the fountain had been cast and installed on the fountain, which was lacking the central figure of Neptune and the four putti. At this point Giovanni Bologna returned to Florence, and work on the fountain was discontinued until the spring of 1566, when on 11 May a new contract was signed, whereby Giovanni Bologna, with the consent of Francesco de' Medici, agreed to assume undivided responsi-

bility for the casting of the remainder of the sculptures. The figure of Neptune was cast in August 1566, and was installed on the fountain on 16 December. Work was completed by 30 January 1567, when a letter was sent to Francesco de' Medici by the authorities in Bologna thanking him for Giovanni Bologna's services. The stages in the evolution of the central figure are recorded in a clay model in London, which has a Bolognese provenance, and in a bronze model in the Museo Civico at Bologna (H. 77 cm.).

*Plate 82: SAMSON SLAYING A PHILISTINE*  
Victoria & Albert Museum, London

The earliest reference to the group occurs in Vasari's notes on Giovanni Bologna (1568): 'Il medesimo . . . ha . . . quasi condotto a fine al Signor Prencipe un Sansone, grande quanto il vivo, il quale combatte a piedi con due Filistei' (He has almost finished for the Prince a Samson, the size of life, who is fighting with two Philistines at his feet). It is described by Borghini (1584) and in greater detail by Baldinucci: 'Ebbe Gio. Bologna per lo Casino del Granduca Francesco a scolpire il gruppo del Sansone, che ha sotto il Filisteo; al quale fu dato luogo sopra la Fontana del Cortile de' Semplici, ove fece ancora bellissime bizzarrie di mostri marini, che reggevano la tazza. . . . Quella fonte poi fu dal Granduca Ferdinando mandata in dono al Duca di Lelma in Spagna, insieme con un'altra, ov'era Sansone, che sbarra la bocca al Leone, fatta da Cristoforo Stati da Bracciano' (Giovanni Bologna was commissioned to carve for the Casino of the Grand-Duke Francesco the group of Samson with a Philistine beneath him, which was accommodated on the fountain in the Cortile de' Semplici, where he made extremely beautiful fantasies of marine monsters supporting the basin. . . . The fountain was later sent by the Grand-Duke Ferdinando as a gift to the Duke of Lerma in Spain, along with another, showing Samson and the lion, made by Cristoforo Stati of Bracciano). The fountain by Giovanni Bologna was despatched to Spain in 1601. In 1623 the group of Samson slaying a Philistine was presented by Philip IV of Spain to Charles, Prince of Wales, who in turn gave it to the Duke of Buckingham. When Buckingham House was acquired by George III as a palace in 1762, the group was presented by the King to Thomas Worsley, and before 1778 was installed at Hovingham. The basin and base of the fountain are now at Aranjuez. Two drawings after Giovanni Bologna in the Uffizi, Florence, show the group standing in the centre of the fountain. If the group was almost finished in 1568, it can hardly have been commissioned later than 1565, and was thus begun before the completion of the Fountain of Neptune at Bologna, and immediately after the gesso model of Florence triumphant over Pisa in the Accademia in Florence. There is some doubt whether the group was, from the first, intended as a fountain figure. Two letters written by Tommaso Inghirami to Francesco de' Medici in May and August 1569 seem to refer to the base, and the group must have been installed on the fountain in or after 1570. The companion fountain by Stati was carved in 1604-7, and was despatched direct to Spain.

*Plate 83: THE FOUNTAIN OF OCEANUS*  
Boboli Gardens, Florence

The origin of the Fountain of Oceanus (Fig. 95) is described by Baldinucci: 'Aveva il Granduca in questo tempo fatto cavare nell'Elba uno smisurato sasso di granito per farne una gran tazza ad una fonte nel Giardino di Boboli, ed avuto a se Gio. Bologna, così gli parlò: Io ho fatto cavar questo sasso come tu vedi, per fare una bella fonte per lo Giardino; sia dunque tuo pensiero il fare essa fonte in modo, che la tazza faccia onore a te, e l'opere tue alla tazza; ond'egli messa mano all'opera, e condotta la tazza, invento un bellissimo piede, e sopra la medesima accomodò un' Essagono, con tre figure di marmo rappresentanti tre fiumi, che versano acqua nella tazza figurata per lo mare Oceano, e questi sono il Nilo, il Gange, el'Eufraate, tutti in atto di sedere, che se fossero ritti, alzerebbero sino a quattro braccia; e'l basamento adornò con bassi rilievi bellissimi di storie marittime. Nella più alta parte fece il Nettuno, che posando sopra angustissimo spazio si fa vedere per termine della fonte con maraviglia d'ogn'uno' (The Grand-Duke at this time had had excavated on Elba an exceptionally large block of granite destined to form the basin of a fountain in the Boboli Gardens. Sending for Giovanni Bologna he addressed him as follows: "I have had this block quarried as you see, in order to make a beautiful fountain for the garden; see to it that you design the fountain in such a way that the basin does honour to you and your sculptures do honour to the basin." After carving the basin, Giovanni Bologna invented a very beautiful support, and on top of the basin he set a hexagon with three figures representing the three rivers which pour water into the basin representing the ocean. The rivers are the Nile, Ganges and Euphrates, all seated; if they were erect they would measure four braccia in height. He adorned the base with beautiful low reliefs of marine scenes. For the top he carved a Neptune, which is set on an extremely narrow base and so appears the terminal point of the fountain, to the wonder of everyone.) The quarrying of the granite block (which was from the first intended for a fountain 'per lo prato grande de' Pitti') by Tribolo in 1550 is described by Vasari. The granite for the basin reached Florence in 1567. Giovanni Bologna's design for the fountain appears to date from this year. A model was made in 1571, and from 1572 till 1575 there are payments for the marble for the figures and support. In May 1576 the fountain was fully installed outside the palace, where it is shown in a lunette by Justus Utens in the Museo Topografico (1599). In 1618 it was moved to its present position on the Isolotto of the Boboli Gardens. A drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inscribed in the sculptor's hand, shows the fountain with its original balustrade. The central figure is now replaced by a copy on the fountain, and is in the Museo Nazionale, Florence.

*Plate 84: THE ALTAR OF LIBERTY*  
Duomo, Lucca

The so-called Altar of Liberty (Fig. 73) to the left of the high altar of Lucca Cathedral was dedicated in 1569 to celebrate the

freedom regained by the city in that year. In 1577 it was decided that it should be replaced by an altar by Giovanni Bologna. The surviving documents (for which see E. Ridolfi, *L'arte in Lucca studiata nella sua cattedrale*, Lucca, 1882, pp. 53-4, and Dhanens, pp. 218-21) show that the decision to entrust the altar to Giovanni Bologna was taken on 23 January 1577 ('Fu deliberato che l'Operaro dovesse portarsi dalli magnifici signori, per pregarli a darli licenza di scrivere all'ambasciatore di Firenze per ottenere da S.A. di far venir qua per 8 giorni Mo. Giovan Bologna fiammingo, scultore, per conto dell'altare da farsi della Libertà in S. Martino') (It was decided the Operaro should go before the noble magistrates to beg leave to write to the Florentine ambassador with a view to persuading His Highness to send here the sculptor Giovanni Bologna, the Fleming, for eight days, on account of the Altar of Liberty which is to be made in S. Martino). On 19 March 1577 a model for the altar was submitted by Giovanni Bologna to the Opera del Duomo, and was approved, with the provision that its price should not exceed the sum of 2000 scudi. Work on the altar was completed by 19 February 1579, when it was inspected by the Consiglio dell'Opera, and full payment to the sculptor was authorised ('e al detto Operaro di sodisfare per lo intero di quello che resta havere il detto Mo. Giovanni secondo il contratto'). The statues on the altar appear to have been completed by this time, since simultaneous payment was made to a carpenter 'della sua mercede per il tempo di circa un mese che è stato qui per conto dell' altar della libertà a mettere su le statue...' (as his salary for the period of about one month during which he has been here over the matter of the Altar of Liberty, erecting the statues). The figure sculpture on the altar comprises a central figure of Christ, lateral figures of SS. Peter (*left*) and Paulinus (*right*), two angels (*above*), and (*below*) a predella with a panorama of the city of Lucca. The iconography of the central figure of Christ as the Redeemer is explained by an inscription above which reads: **CHRISTO LIBERATORI AC DIVIS TUTELARIBVS.** On the console beneath the central figure is the artist's name and date of completion:

IOANNIS BOLONII.  
FLANDREN OPVS  
A.D. MDLXXIX.

The Christ is an autograph work of high quality; the lateral figures, on the other hand, seem to have been executed in the main by Francavilla. As noted by Dhanens, both of the lateral figures look forward to similar figures in the Salviati Chapel in San Marco (see Plate 89 below). Baldinucci mistakenly implies that Giovanni Bologna undertook more than one figurated altar for the Cathedral ('Chiamato a Lucca, fecevi due Cappelle con alcune statue').

*Plates 85, 86:*  
THE RAPE OF THE SABINES  
Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence

The earliest reference to the composition known as the Rape of the Sabines occurs in a letter from Giovanni Bologna to

Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, of 13 June 1579: 'Havevo apunto compito et rinettato il groppo delle due Figure di bronzo che io promessi a V. Ecc. Ill. ma di volerli fare quin li mandai il Mercurio e la Femina, et così fornitolò d'una basa di ebano, adorna d'alcune pietre, in due casse l'havevo già consegnato al condottore, che per la strada ordinaria a Parma gliene conducesse. . . . Le due predette Figure che possono inferire il rapto d'Elena et forse di Proserpina o, d'una delle Sabine: eletto per dar campo alla sagezza et studio dell'arte sono alte ciascuna br(accio) 1½ inc.' (I have just completed and chased the bronze group of two figures which I promised your Excellency to prepare when I sent you the Mercury and the female figure. It has been supplied with an ebony base inlaid with stones, and has been handed over in two cases to the courier who is to take it to Parma by the normal route. . . . The aforesaid figures can be interpreted as the rape of Helen, or even as that of Proserpine, or as the rape of one of the Sabine women. The subject was chosen to give scope to the knowledge and study of art. The two figures are about one and a half braccia high). This bronze is now in Naples (Fig. 53). A second version is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The intervening stages between the two-figure bronze group and the three-figure marble version are marked by two small wax models in London (Figs. 54, 55) and by a full-scale gesso model in the Accademia, Florence. The group is mentioned in a letter of Simone Fortuna of 27 October 1581 as not yet complete ('presto uscira fuori un gruppo di tre statue a fronte della Iuditta di Donatello su la loggia de' Pisani'). According to the diary of Settimani the Judith of Donatello was removed from the Loggia dei Lanzi on 30 July 1582 to make way for the new statue, which was installed on 28 August ('Fu posto nel luogo dov'era la Giuditta in Piazza il miracoloso gruppo di tre statue di marmo fatto come si è detto da Gio Bologna ad imitazione di uno di quei giovani Romani, quando rubarono le vergini Sabine; ma furono fasciate e coperte per non essere ancora perfettamente ripulite: poi vi fu fatto dinanzi un muro, mattone sopra mattone, per poterle finire a suo piacere senza essere veduto da nessuno') (In the place where the Judith used to be there was set up the miraculous group of three figures made by Giovanni Bologna to represent one of those young Romans who stole the Sabine virgins. The figures were covered with straw as they were not yet fully polished, and later a wall was built round them, brick by brick, so that the sculptor could complete them at his convenience without being seen by anyone). The group was unveiled on 14 January 1583. It bears the signature OPVS IOANNIS BOLONII FLANDRI MDLXXXII. Further light is thrown on the genesis of the group by a celebrated passage in the *Riposo* of Borghini (1584). In the course of this Vecchietti explains that Giovanni Bologna 'avendo . . . nel fare molte figure di bronzo grandi, e piccole, ed infiniti modelli, dimostrato quanto egli fosse eccellente nell'arte sua, non potendo alcuni invidiosi Artefici negare, che in tali cose egli non fosse rarissimo; confessavano, che in fare figurine graziose, e modelli in varie attitudini con una certa vaghezza, egli molto valeva; ma che nel mettere in opera le figure grandi di marmo, in che consiste la vera scultura, egli non sarebbe riuscito. Per la qualcosa Giambologna, punto dallo sprone della virtù, si dispose di

mostrare al Mondo, che egli non solo sapea far le statue di marmo ordinarie, ma eziandio molte insieme, e le più difficili, che far si potessero . . . e così finse, solo per mostrar l'eccellenza dell'arte, e senza proporsi alcun' istoria, un giovane fiero, che bellissima fanciulla a debil vecchio rapisse, ed avendo condotta quasi a fine quest'opera maravigliosa, fu veduto dal Serenissimo Francesco Medici Granduca nostro, ed ammirata la sua bellezza, diliberò, che in questo luogo, dove or si vede, si collocasse. Laonde, perché le figure non uscisser fuori senz'alcun nome, procacciò Giambologna d'aver qualche invenzione all'opera sua dicevole, e gli fu detto, non so da cui, che sarebbe stato ben fatto, per seguirar l'istoria del Perseo di Benvenuto, ch'egli avesse finto per la fanciulla rapita, Andromeda moglie di Perseo, per lo rapitore Fineo zio di lei, e per lo vecchio Cefeo Padre d'Andromeda. Ma essendo un giorno capitato in bottega di Giambologna Raffaello Borghini, ed avendo veduto con suo gran diletto questo bel gruppo di figure, ed intesa l'istoria, che dovea significare, mostrò segno di maraviglia; del che accortosi Giambologna, il pregò molto, che sopra ciò gli dicesse il parer suo, il quale gli concluse, che à niun modo desse tal nome alle sue statue; ma che meglio si accomoderebbe la rapina delle Sabine; la quale istoria, essendo stata giudicata a proposito, ha dato nome all'opera' (By numerous large and small bronze figures and an infinite quantity of models Giovanni Bologna had given proof of his excellence in his own art, so that even jealous artists were unable to deny that in such works his talent was exceptional. In making charming figures and models in different poses with great elegance, he was, they admitted, outstanding, but they claimed that he would not be successful in executing large marble figures, which were the essence of sculpture. For this reason Giovanni Bologna prepared to show the world that not only did he know how to make ordinary marble statues, but was able to carve a number together and the most difficult ones possible. . . . So solely to prove his excellence in his art, and without selecting any subject, he represented a proud youth seizing a most beautiful girl from a weak old man. When this marvellous work was almost finished, it was seen by our Grand-Duke Francesco de' Medici, who admired its beauty, and decided that it should be placed in the position it now occupies. Wherefore, since the figures could not be shown without a name, he urged Giovanni Bologna to find some invention for his work. The sculptor was told, I do not know by whom, that it would be a good thing to associate the story with the Perseus of Benvenuto, and that he might have intended the raped girl for Andromeda, the wife of Perseus, the youth seizing her for Phineus, and the old man for Cepheus the father of Andromeda. But one day when Raffaello Borghini chanced to go to the studio of Giovanni Bologna, and to his great delight saw this beautiful group and was told the story it was supposed to depict, he expressed surprise. Giovanni Bologna begged him insistently to express his own view, and he declared that in no circumstances should such a name be given to the statues, but that the subject of the Rape of the Sabines would suit them very well. This subject was deemed to be appropriate, and the name was accordingly given to the group). The bronze relief beneath appears to have been made in 1582-3.

Plates 87, 88: SCULPTURES FROM THE  
GRIMALDI CHAPEL  
University, Genoa

The bronze sculptures by Giovanni Bologna and his studio now preserved in the Aula Magna and Chapel of the University of Genoa comprise:

- (i) six figures of Faith, Hope, Charity, Fortitude, Prudence and Justice (H. ca. 175 cm.).
- (ii) six recumbent figures of Angels (H. 40–50 cm.).
- (iii) six Passions scenes (Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, the Mocking of Christ, Ecce Homo, Pilate washing his Hands, and Christ carrying the Cross) (47×71 cm.) and a somewhat larger relief of the Entombment.

These works, with three bronze epitaphs and a bronze Crucifix (lost), formed the sculptural decoration of the Grimaldi Chapel in S. Francesco di Castelletto, Genoa. At the time of the French Revolution the church and convent of S. Francesco were secularised, the church proper being sold in 1802 and demolished in 1806. Giovanni Bologna's chapel was destroyed at this time, and at some time between this date and 1820, the sculptures were moved to the University of Genoa. The sequence of work on the Grimaldi Chapel is attested by a number of documents. On 20 April 1579 Luca Grimaldi in a letter to Francesco I de' Medici (see Dhanens, p. 342) sought permission for Giovanni Bologna to visit Genoa ('Si bisogneria in questa citta dell'industria et della presenza di Gio. Bologna scultore et architetto di Vostra Altezza per qualche pochi giorni... et però la preghiamo a farci gratia di dar licenza al detto Gio. che possi venire qua per quindici giorni') (The skill and presence of Your Highness' sculptor and architect, Giovanni da Bologna, are needed in this city for a few days... and so we beg you to be pleased to give Giovanni leave to come here for a fortnight). The Grand-Duke sanctioned the visit in a letter to Grimaldi of 26 May 1579, provided that Giovanni Bologna first completed certain works he had in hand for the Grand-Duke ('ha fra mano alcune cose mie le quali però doverà haver finite fra pochi giorni et all'ora... gli concederò il venir da loro') (he has some things of mine in hand, but should have finished them in a few days, and then... I will let him come to you). On 10 June 1579 Grimaldi was notified by the Grand-Duke of the impending departure of Giovanni Bologna, and on 13 June 1579 Giovanni Bologna, in a letter to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, himself mentions his imminent visit to Genoa. A contract was signed by Grimaldi and Giovanni Bologna in Genoa on 24 July 1579 (for this see Dhanens, pp. 243–5). The principal points in this read as follows: 'In nomine Domini Amen: D. Ioannes Bologna scultor sereniss. Magni Duci Etrurie: sponte etc. et omni modo etc. Promisit et promittit Magnif. D. Luce de Grimaldis filio quondam D. Francisci presenti et acceptanti etc. facere construere et fabricare in civitate Florentie infrascripta laboreria pro dicto Magnif. Luca et ejus nomine videlicet sex statuas aeneas scilicet Fidei, Spei, Caritatis, Iusticie, Fortitudinis et Prudentie, que statue esse debeant altitudinis palmorum septem pro qualibet statua. . . .

Item sex tabulas aeneas super quibus sit impressa Passio D. N. Jesu Christi figuris quas appellant di basso rilievo repartita hoc modo videlicet in una quando ductus fuit ad Pilatum, in alia quando fuit flagellatus ad columnam, in alia quando imposuerunt ei coronam spineam, in alia quando presentaverunt eum populo dicendo Ecce homo, in alio quando Pilatus lavit manus coram populo et in alio quando D. N. portabat Crucem que sex tabule sint et esse debeant altitudinis palmorum duorum cum dimidio et latitudinis palmorum trium. . . . Item sex statuas aeneas Angelorum nudorum cum corum alis pro illis apponendis super frontispicio trium tabularum picture que esse debeant altitudinis palmorum quatuor in circa. . . . Item tres Epitaphios aeneos cum eorum ornamentis prout melius dicto D. Ioanni videbitur pro illis apponendis sub Icona et sub duobus quadris picture ab utroque latere altaris. . . . Et ipsa omnia laboreria statuarum tabularum angelorum et aliorum predictorum facere de illa pulchriori qualitate aeris coloris aurei et illiusmet qualitatis cuius est statua aenea raptus mulieris Sabine quam dictus D. Joannis trasmissit Sereniss. Duci Parma et Placentie et omnia quidem expolita et diligenter quam fieri possunt et in ipsis adhibere omnem ejus scientiam artem curam studium et diligentiam et ea facere finire et perficere intra annos quinque proxime venturos salvo tamen justo et legitimo impedimento quatenus a prefato Sereniss. Magno Duce Etrurie sibi non mandaretur in contrarium' (In the Name of Our Lord, Amen: Giovanni da Bologna, sculptor of His Highness the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, of his own free will etc. and in every way etc. has undertaken and undertakes to the noble Luca di Francesco Grimaldi in person and in full agreement etc. to make, construct and build in the city of Florence, on behalf of the said noble Luca and in his name, the following works: namely, six bronze statues, to wit, Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Fortitude and Prudence, the height of each of these statues to be 7 palmi. . . . Item, six bronze panels on which the Passion of Our Lord is to be engraved, with figures in what is known as bas-relief. They will be disposed in the following way: in one, His being led to Pilate; in another, His flagellation at the column; in another, the imposition of the crown of thorns; in another, His presentation to the people with the words 'Ecce homo'; in another, Pilate washing his hands in the presence of the people; in another, Our Lord carrying the cross. That is, six panels, and they are to be 2½ palmi high and 3 palmi broad. . . . Item, six statues of nude angels with wings, to put above the mouldings round three pictures, each to be about 4 palmi high. . . . Item, three bronze epitaphs, with ornaments as the said Giovanni may think best, to put under the altarpiece and the two pictures on each side of the altar. . . . And he undertakes to make the whole series of statues, panels, angels and the other things here stated out of that more beautiful quality of bronze of a gold colour, and of the same quality as the bronze statue of a Rape of a Sabine Woman which the said Giovanni sent to His Highness the Duke of Parma and Piacenza; to polish the whole as carefully as he can; to use on them all his experience, art, care, zeal and diligence; and to make, finish and complete them within the next five years, unless there is just and legitimate impediment, and as long as he is not instructed otherwise by His Highness the Grand-Duke of Tuscany).

The total fee to be paid to Giovanni Bologna for the sculptures of the chapel amounted to 4,200 scudi. On 27 July 1579 Luca Grimaldi wrote to the Grand-Duke to express his satisfaction at the result of his consultations with Giovanni Bologna: 'Gio. Bologna scultore di cui li giorni passati V. A. ci fece gratia venne et ha sodisfatta benissimo a quello che si desiderava ma sopravvenendo il bisogno dell'industria et giudicio suo sopra certe capelle che si fabricano, si è trattenuto un poco più di quello che si credeva; ancora che l'opera ricercaria per qualche tempo di più la sua presenza per certi adornamenti o figure de bronzo che vi bisognano, hora egli se ne ritorna; et però ringratiano V. Al. del favore, la preghiamo ad havere per iscusato il suddetto Gio. del tempo trascorso, et insieme concedergli che possi comandare o dare ordine a quelle figure o adornamenti di bronzo che si hanno da fare per compimento delle capelle e con questo fine ci raccomandiamo all'Al. V. et le preghiamo felicità' (The sculptor Giovanni da Bologna, with whose presence Your Highness recently favoured us, came and has satisfied us fully in what was desired. But a need arose for his skill and judgement in the matter of some chapels which are being built, and he stayed a little longer than was anticipated. Though the work needs his presence rather longer on account of some ornaments or figures of bronze required in these, he is now returning. Thanking Your Highness for your favour, we beg you to excuse Giovanni the extra time and also to let him supervise the figures or ornaments of bronze which are to be made to complete the chapels. With this we recommend ourselves to Your Highness and wish you good fortune). The Genoa commission is mentioned in a letter from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino of 27 October 1581 ('Egli ha tre o 4 giovani, uno fra gli altri che di già è in grado di molta eccellenza, et chi può havere delle cose di costui, fatte però col disegno di Gio. Bologna, si tien contento et aventureto, et di tal mano sono la maggiore parte delle statue c'hanno i particolari della città. Questo tale le farebbe, ma perchè anco esso è occupato molto et è di corto per andare a portare una sua opera a Genova, vorrebbe del tempo assai') (He has three or four young assistants, and one of them has already reached a very high standard of excellence. Whoever is able to obtain works by this one, though done to Giovanni da Bologna's designs, thinks himself fortunate and satisfied. Most of the statues owned by private citizens here are by him. He would do them, but because he too is very busy and is shortly going to take one of his works to Genoa, he would need a long time), and by Borghini (1584): 'Hoggi ha fra mano vna Cappella per Genoua, in cui vanno sei statue di bronzo, e sei historie di basso rilievo' (At present he has in hand a chapel for Genoa, including six bronze figures and six scenes in low relief). There is no firm date for the completion of work in the Grimaldi Chapel, but this may have been finished in 1585. The completed chapel is described by Soprani (*Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti Genovesi e de' Forestieri che in Genova operarono*, Genoa, 1674, pp. 291-2). Baldinucci states that Giovanni Bologna's work at Genoa was carried out with the assistance of Francavilla; it is suggested by Dhanens that this results from confusion between the Grimaldi Chapel in S. Francesco di Castelletto and the Senarega Chapel in the Duomo at Genoa.

Plates 89, 92: THE SALVIATI CHAPEL  
S. Marco, Florence

The first reference to a chapel in the church of S. Marco in honour of St. Antoninus (canonised 1523) occurs in a letter of 11 March 1526 in which Cardinal Pucci notifies Fra Roberto da Gagliano of S. Marco of the determination of Pope Clement VII to embellish the tomb of his fellow-citizen and predecessor as Archbishop of Florence (Gori, *Descrizione della Cappella di S. Antonino*, 1728). Owing to lack of funds this project was not proceeded with. At a considerably later date it was resumed by Filippo Salviati (Richa), whose family were connected with St. Antoninus first through Bernardo Salviati (appointed by the Saint one of the twelve Buonomini of the Nobile Compagnia di S. Martino) and second through Fra Francesco Salviati (a member of the community of S. Marco and founder of the convent of S. Vincenzo at Prato). After the death of Filippo Salviati, the project for a chapel in honour of the Saint was realised by his sons Averardo and Antonio. The circumstances of the commission for the construction and decoration of the Chapel are described by Baldinucci: 'Avendo i Frati Predicatori del Convento di S. Marco determinato di cavare dall' antico, ed umil luogo, dove per lo spazio di presso a centotrenta anni erasi conservato incorrotto il sacro Corpo di S. Antonino Arcivescovo di Firenze, stato Religioso di quel Convento, il qual luogo era non molto lungi dal Coro, per collocarlo in altro più decorosamente, con iespesa però confacevole alle forze loro; quello spirito, che aveva eccitato in quei Padri tale sentimento, mosse altresì la volontà di due ricchissimi Gentiluomini, che furono Averardo, ed Antonio di Filippo Salviati, ad offerirsi di condurre a fine lor disegno, e così clessero Gio. Bologna a fare con suo disegno, e di suo scarpello, e getto la gran Cappella in essa Chiesa di S. Marco, celebre ormai per ornamento, e ricchezza in ogni luogo, affine di renderla più degna di conservare in se stessa tanta Reliquia, la quale finalmente agli 9. di Maggio del 1589, con solenne pompa, ed apparato, vi fu traslatata; cosa che rese più piena, e più gioconda la comune allegrezza, che fecesi in quel tempo nella Città di Firenze per le felicissime Nozze del Granduca Ferdinando Primo colla Sereniss. Madama Cristina di Lorena. In questa fece Gio. Bologna il bel getto della figura del Santo Arcivescovo giacente sopra la cassa, quattro Angeli maggiori di naturale, più bassi rilievi, e le belle statue di marmo, che vi si veggono coll'aiuto di Pietro Francavilla, come diremo nelle notizie di lui. Ma perchè di questa Cappella non pure il Padre Fra Tommaso Buoninsegni Frate di detto Ordine, con altri hanno ragionato, ma anche noi medesimi nelle notizie del Francavilla, e del Passignano, altro non è d'vopo il dirne qui' (The Preaching Brothers of the Convent of S. Marco decided to disinter the holy body of St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence and former brother of the Convent, from the old and humble place near the choir where it had survived incorrupt for nearly 130 years, in order to instal it elsewhere in a more worthy manner and with an outlay consistent with their means. The same piety which had aroused this feeling among the Brothers impelled also two very wealthy gentlemen, Averardo and Antonio, the sons of Filippo Salviati to offer to carry through their plan. They chose Giovanni

Bologna to design, carve and cast the large chapel in the Church of S. Marco, now famous for its decoration and richness throughout, to make it more worthy of the preservation of such relics. These were finally moved there with solemn pomp and spectacle on 9 May 1589; and this completed and enhanced the public rejoicing of that time in the city of Florence over the propitious wedding of Grand-Duke Ferdinand I and Cristina of Lorraine. For it Giovanni Bologna, with the help of Pietro Francavilla, as I shall describe in my account of the latter, made the fine cast of the figure of the Sainted Archbishop lying on the coffer, four angels over life-size, several low-reliefs, and the fine marble figures there. But as this chapel has been discussed not only by Fra Tommaso Buoninsegni, Brother of the Order, and by others, but also by myself in my accounts of Francavilla and Passignano, there is no need for me to say more about it here). Giovanni Bologna's plans for the as yet uncompleted chapel are described in a letter of 27 October 1581 from Simone Fortuna to the Duke of Urbino: 'ha le mani in mille cose, non solo per il gran Duca et la G. Duchessa (che gli hanno accresciuto la provisone a 50 scudi il mese) ma di consenso di lor Altezze fa la capella de' Salviati in S. Marco, dove va 'l corpo di S. Antonino, la cui spesa passerà 40000 Scudi, et è molto inanzi: et egli vi ha l'humore terribilmente per la gloria' (He has a thousand things in hand, not only for the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess, who have put up his salary to 50 scudi a month, but also the making, with Their Highness' consent, of the Salviati Chapel in S. Marco, where the body of St. Antoninus is going; it will cost more than 40000 scudi and is well advanced. He is extremely anxious to win glory in this work). They are mentioned again in 1584 in the *Riposo* of Borghini. The construction and decoration of the Chapel was undertaken between 8 January 1579, when space for the chapel was conceded to the Salviati (who agreed also to build a second chapel opposite dedicated to St. Dominic in substitution for a chapel of the Martini family scheduled for destruction) and 9 May 1589, when, under the direction of Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, the future Pope Leo XI, the Saint's body was moved to its new resting place. Supervision of the construction of the Chapel was entrusted to Benedetto Gondi. The figure sculpture in the Salviati Chapel (Fig. 75) comprises: (i) six marble statues in niches representing (*left wall*) SS. Dominic and Edward, (*altar wall*) SS. John the Baptist and Philip, and (*right wall*) SS. Anthony the Abbot and Thomas Aquinas; (ii) six bronze narrative reliefs set in the walls above the niches, and representing (*left wall*) the Clothing of St. Antoninus by the Blessed Giovanni Dominici and St. Antoninus giving Alms, (*altar wall*) St. Antoninus preaching to the People of Florence and the Entry of St. Antoninus as Archbishop, and (*right wall*) St. Antoninus reconciling the Signoria and St. Antoninus raising a Child of the Filicaia Family (Fig. 88); (iii) (*above the altar*) a bronze Angel and two bronze Putti; (iv) (*on the altar*) a gilt bronze Crucifix; (v) (*originally beneath the altar, since 1710 in the Sacristy*) the bronze effigy and marble sarcophagus of St. Antoninus, and (vi) (*over the entrance of the chapel*) a marble statue of St. Antoninus. So far as concerns the authorship of individual sculptures, it may be noted that Baldinucci, in his life of Francavilla, states that all six marble figures were carved

by Francavilla from models by Giovanni Bologna. The two statues on the altar wall (SS. John the Baptist and Philip) are superior in conception to the other four (Kriegbaum), and for both of these models by Giovanni Bologna seems to have been employed. An autograph bronze reduction by Giovanni Bologna of the St. John the Baptist (H. 66 cm.) exists in S. Maria degli Angiolini. The six bronze reliefs appear to have been executed with the assistance of Antonio Susini, but have also been assigned to Francavilla (two reliefs, Venturi; six reliefs, Brinckmann). On the strength of a payment made to Antonio Susini on 22 July 1581 'per avere formato una storia de bassorilievo da farsi di bronzo a Salviati' recorded in the account book of Fra Domenico Portigiani (see Dhanens, p. 256) two of the reliefs (the Clothing of St. Antoninus and St. Antoninus giving Alms) have been ascribed by Kriegbaum to Antonio Susini. There is some doubt as to the applicability of this payment to the Salviati Chapel reliefs, and all six narrative scenes appear to depend from models by Giovanni Bologna. The intervention of Adriaen de Vries has been postulated in the three bronzes above the altar (Dhanens), as has that of Hans Reichel (Brinckmann). The Crucifix, the effigy of St. Antoninus and the Angel over the altar are autograph works by Giovanni Bologna.

Plate 90:  
EQUESTRIAN MONUMENT OF COSIMO I  
Piazza della Signoria, Florence

On 27 October 1581 Simone Fortuna, in a letter to the Duke of Urbino (Dhanens, pp. 345-6) mentions among the works on which Giovanni Bologna is engaged a horse for the Piazza della Signoria: 'In molte altre opere ha le mani, tutte d'importanza et presto uscirà fuori . . . un cavallo Traiano, che getta di bronzo, due volte grande quanto quello di Campidoglio, a fronte del gigante di Mich. Agnolo' (He has many other works in hand, all of them important; and there will soon leave his workshop . . . a 'Trajan' horse which he is casting in bronze, twice as large as the one in the Campidoglio, to stand opposite the colossal figure by Michelangelo). It is possible that this reference is to an early project for an equestrian monument to Cosimo I. The recorded history of the monument, however, goes back only to 1587 when, according to Baldinucci (who states that in this year Ferdinando I ordered 'il fare gli studj per lo Cavallo di bronzo lungo sette braccia, sopra cui doveva essere la statua di Cosimo Primo lor padre, per collocarlo in piazza') (studies made for the bronze horse, 7 braccia long, upon which is to be the statue of Cosimo I, their father, to be put in the Piazza) and Galluzzi (*Istoria del Granducato di Toscana sotto il governo della casa Medici, 1781*, iii, p. 287), who writes: 'Questo eccellente Scultore . . . fino dai sedici Dicembre 1587 fu impiegato da Ferdinando per erigere al Gran Cosimo con la direzione di Bernardo Vecchietti una statua equestre di bronzo, monumento eterno della virtù di quel principe, della gratitudine del figlio, e della sublimità dell'artefice') (This excellent sculptor was commissioned by Ferdinand from 16 December 1587 to erect, under the direction of Bernardo Vecchietti, a bronze equestrian statue to the great Cosimo - a permanent

monument to the virtue of that Prince, to the gratitude of his son, and to the sublime talent of the artist). Baldinucci states that 'a questa nobilissima faccenda s'applicò a tutto suo potere l'Artefice; e perch'egli è proprio di quei che sanno, il non fidarsi di loro stessi, ma dar volentieri orecchio all'altrui parere, egli comunicato suo pensiero col gran Pittore Lodovico Cigoli, e con Goro Pagani, fecene loro far disegni, de' quali più d'uno n'è in varj tempi pervenuto sotto l'occhio nostro' (The artist applied himself to this noble undertaking with all his powers; and because he is the sort of person who has no self-confidence, but willingly takes advice from others, he consulted the great painter Lodovico Cigoli and Goro Pagani, and had them do designs for it. At various times I have seen several of these). Baldinucci indicates elsewhere that Giovanni Bologna made extensive use of the services of Antonio Susini in the preparation of this work: 'Venutagli poi l'occasione di fare il Cavallo colla Statua di Cosimo Primo, che poi fu messo in Piazza del Gran Duca, si servì del Susini per condurre i Modelli, le Forme, e il Getto, ed anche a rinettare, poi al metterlo in opera, che tutto si bene esercitò sua parte, che non venne poi occasione qualunque ella si fusse, che Gio. Bologna non lo facesse del continuo operare, posando sopra di lui la maggior parte del pensiero' (When the opportunity came to him of making the horse and the statue of Cosimo I, later put in the Piazza of the Grand Duke, he made use of Susini in carrying out the models, moulds and casting, and in polishing it and working it up. He performed his part so well in every way that on every subsequent occasion, whatever it was, Giovanni Bologna had him work on it continuously, putting the greater part of the responsibility on him). From documents published by H. Semper ('Dokumente über die Reiterstatue Cosimo's I von Giovanni Bologna', in *Jahrbücher für Kunsthissenschaft*, ii, 1869, pp. 83-7) and J. Del Badia (*La Statua Equestre di Cosimo I: documenti inediti*, Florence, 1868), it is known that on 27 September 1591 casting preparations were in progress under the direction of Giovanni Albergotti. At this time 39,239 libri of casting material had been assembled, and eighteen workmen were employed. On 28 September 1591 all of the metal had been 'condotto in bagno', and the casting of the horse in a single piece was presumably completed forthwith. When weighed on 6 May 1594, the horse weighed 15,438 libri and the rider 7,716 libri. According to the *Diario* of Lapini, excavation of the ground on the intended site of the statue began on 6 November 1591. On 5 December 1591 the foundations of the base were laid ('et io scrittore essendo presente, nel detto fondamento, gittai tre sassi'). On 11 June 1594 'si pose il cavallo di bronzo in su la basa di Piazza', and on 5 June 1595 'si scoperse la bella e maravigliosa statua del serenissimo gran duca Cosimo a cavallo'. Work on the three reliefs for the base seems to have been undertaken after this time. A letter of 26 May 1596 from Seriaco to the Opera del Duomo at Orvieto (Dhanens, p. 361) mentions that 'havendo M. Gio. Bologna condotto il centauro molto innanzi se n'andò alla villa circa un mese fa per essere libero in finire una storia che restava per la basa del cavallo. . . . E certo che questa istoria et centauro l'avevano troppo ingombrato l'animo e la mente' (Master Giovanni Bologna, having progressed far with the Centaur, left for the villa about a month ago, so that he

would be free to finish a scene which remained to be done for the base of the horse. . . . There is no doubt that this scene and the Centaur have been weighing too heavily on his mind and spirit). Giovanni Bologna, in a letter to Seriaco of 4 April 1598, mentions preparations for the casting of the narrative reliefs, and on 16 May 1598 payment for work on the reliefs was made to Francesco di Girolamo della Bella, Pietro Tacca, Gasparre di Girolamo della Bella and other sculptors. A payment of 24 April 1599 related to two bronze shields of arms for the base of the statue. The three reliefs represent (*north side*) the Coronation of Cosimo I as Grand-Duke (inscribed OB ZELVM REL. PRAECIPVMQ, JVSTITIAE STVDIVM), (*south side*) Cosimo I triumphant over Siena (inscribed PROFLIGATIS HOSTIB. IN DEDITIONEM ACCEPTIS SENENSIBVS), and (*east end*) Cosimo I accepted by the Senate as Duke of Tuscany (inscribed PLENIS LIBERIS SEN. FL. SVFFRAGIIS DVX PATRIAERENVNTIATVR). The third of these reliefs (Fig. 89) is an autograph work by Giovanni Bologna. On the west end is the inscription:

COSMO MEDICI MA  
GNO ETRVRIAEC DVCI  
PRIMO. PIO. FELICI. IN  
VICTO. IVSTO. CLEMEN  
TI. SACRAE MILITIAE  
PACISQ. IN ETRVRIA  
AVTHORI. PATRI ET  
PRINCIPPI OPTIMO  
FERDINANDVS F. MAG.  
DVX III. EREXIT AN.  
MDLXXXVIII.

(To Cosimo Medici, first Grand-Duke of Tuscany, god-fearing, fortunate, unconquered, just and merciful, promoter of holy war and of peace in Tuscany: Ferdinand, his son and third Grand-Duke, erected this to his excellent Prince and father. 1594).

At least since the time of Bode ('Gian Bologna und seine Tätigkeit als Bildner von Kleinbronzen', in *Kunst und Künstler*, ix, 1911, pp. 632-40) a bronze equestrian statuette of Cosimo I in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, has been accepted as a model by Giovanni Bologna for the large statue. This statuette is tentatively connected by Dhanens with the project of 1581. The connection with the present statue and with Giovanni Bologna is very slight, and the bronze seems to have been produced by an artist in the circle of Baccio Bandinelli. A wax model for Giovanni Bologna's horse is stated by Venturi (X-iii, p. 766) to exist in a Florentine private collection. A bronze anatomical horse formerly in the Loeser collection and now in the Palazzo Vecchio is identified by Dhanens (pp. 278-9) as a study made in connection with the large statue.

*Plate 91: HERCULES AND THE CENTAUR*  
Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence

Giovanni Bologna's group of Hercules and the Centaur was begun in 1594 as the result of a visit paid by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I to the sculptor's studio, which is described by

Baldinucci: 'Trovasi nell'altra volta notato libro di memorie, e ricordi del 1594, del Provveditore delle Fortezze il Cap. Gio. Batista Cresci, come essendo un giorno il Granduca andato a suo diporto alle stanze di Gio. Bologna a Pinti, ed anche per vedere un bel Crocifisso di bronzo fatto da lui medesimo, che poi quell' Altezza donò al Duca di Baviera, risolve, che si facesse un' Ercole in atto d' ammazzare il Centauro; e nel tempo stesso comandò, che fosse spedito a Mess. Jacopo Piccardi a Carrara per negoziare il prezzo d'un marmo d'altezza di sopra cinque braccia, che dovesse servire al nostro Artefice per formarvi essa statua. Il tutto fu dal Piccardi eseguito con spesa di dugento ducati nel marmo condotto a marina, cinquanta per farlo bozzare al modo degli scarpellini, e di centodieci per condurlo in Firenze. Aplicatosi Gio. Bologna di gran proposito al lavoro della bellissima statua, con l'aiuto del Francavilla, come diremo a suo luogo, diedela finita, e fuori di stanza agli 19. di November del 1599. . . Questa per certo fu una delle più maestrevoli opere, che formasse mai lo scarpello di Gio. Bologna' (In the volume of ricordi of 1594 of the Provveditore of the fortresses, Giovanni Battista Cresci, already referred to, it is described how the Duke, on a visit to the studio of Giovanni Bologna in the Borgo Pinti to inspect a beautiful crucifix which His Highness later gave to the Duke of Bavaria, decided that Giovanni Bologna should carve a Hercules in the act of killing the centaur. Forthwith he gave instructions that messer Jacopo Piccardi at Carrara should negotiate the price of a marble block over five braccia in height, from which the group was to be carved. Piccardi carried out his instructions, spending two

hundred ducats on the transport of the marble to the sea, fifty on having it roughly blocked out, and a hundred and ten to bring it to Florence. Giovanni Bologna, aided by Francavilla, applied himself with great concentration to work on this beautiful statue, and it left his studio in a finished state on 19 November 1599. . . . Certainly this was one of the most masterly works that the chisel of Giovanni Bologna ever carved.) According to Settimani, the group was exhibited on its plinth at the Canto dei Carneschi on 24 December 1599. On the centaur is the artist's name and the date 1600 (IOANES BOLOGNA BELGIA EA MDC.). The close attention given by Giovanni Bologna to this work is attested by a number of letters. Thus on 5 April 1596 Seriaco reported to the authorities at Pisa that Giovanni Bologna was not prepared to undertake reliefs for the new doors of the Cathedral 'massime non havendo altro ne l'animo che il centauro'. On 26 May 1596 the same source reported that 'havendo M. Gio. Bologna condotto il centauro molto innanzi se n'andò alla villa circa un mese fa per essere libero in finire una storia che restava per la base del cavallo' (the statue of Cosimo I). Finally, on 3 March 1597 Giovanni Bologna himself states that 'il Centauro va innanzi alegramente'. Though the group was not begun till 1594, the theme had occupied the sculptor at least since 1576, when he received silver for a small group of this subject. Intervening stages in the development of the scheme are marked by a wax model in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, the reverse of a medal of Ferdinand I of 1587-8, and a small bronze of which examples exist at Genoa and elsewhere.

## GIOVANNI CACCINI

(b. 1556; d. 1612-3)

Born on 24 October 1556, Giovanni Caccini was trained as an architect under Dosio. His earliest sculpture is the statue of San Giovanni Gualberto in the Badia at Passignano (1578). About 1584 he carved the statues of SS. Zenobius and Bartholomew in the Carneschi Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, Florence. At this time and later he was also active as a restorer of antiques. His best known statues are in the Strozzi Chapel of S. Trinita (after 1606) and on the Ponte S. Trinita in Florence (Summer and Autumn). Four statues of Saints commissioned in 1593 for the Certosa di S. Martino at Naples were begun in 1609 and were left incomplete at the sculptor's death. Caccini's most substantial commissions are those for the reliefs on the central door of Pisa Cathedral (see Plate 93 below), the choir balustrade, high altar and ciborium of Santo Spirito (after 1590), and the loggia in front of the Annunziata (1601-4). One of the most popular portrait sculptors of his time, he executed statues of members of the Medici family for the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo Vecchio (1592-5) and many portrait busts, of which a bust of Baccio Valori in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, is representative.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A good account of Caccini's career is given by Sobotka in Thieme *Künstlerlexikon* (v, 1911, pp. 336-8). The only available corpus of reproductions of works by Caccini is in the *Storia* of Venturi (X-iii, pp. 792-816).

*Plate 93: THE ANNUNCIATION  
Duomo, Pisa*

The doors cast by Bonanno for the Porta Regia of Pisa Cathedral were destroyed by fire in 1595. Such parts of them as survived appear to have been melted down, and the bronze, to a total weight of 12760 libbre, was made available for the making of new doors. The doors (for which see I. B. Supino, 'Le porte del Duomo di Pisa', in *L'Arte*, ii, 1899, pp. 373-91, and Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti pisani*, Pisa, 1897, pp. 155-76) were commissioned by the Deputati of the Cathedral from Raffaello Pagni, the architect of the Grand-Duke, and the casting, on the suggestion of Girolamo Seriaco, provveditore delle fortezze di Firenze, was entrusted to the

Dominican Fra Domenico Portigiani. Three drawings by Pagni for the doors survive in the Uffizi (Nos. 114, 115 and 116). One of these provides for a door with four oblong scenes in each wing, and was adopted, with some modifications, for the central door of the Cathedral. A second shows three upright scenes in each wing, and was adopted for the two lateral doorways. The third, which is not related to the doors as executed, shows two irregular scenes in each wing. On 26 March 1597 a payment was made to Andrea di Michelangelo Ferrucci for making two wax models of the doors for submission to Fra Domenico Portigiani. Prior to this time difficulties appear to have arisen with Portigiani over the price of the three doors, the Deputati offering 1900 scudi and Portigiani, with the support of Giovanni Bologna, insisting upon 2,300. A sum of 2,200 scudi was eventually agreed. It appears originally to have been intended by Portigiani that the six reliefs modelled by Giovanni Bologna for the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem should be used again for the Pisa doors, but owing to the large size of the doors this proved unpractical. On 23 March 1595 Seriaco reported to the Deputati that he was attempting to secure narrative scenes from Giovanni Bandini, but nothing came of this proposal. At this time it was also hoped that reliefs would be contributed by Giovanni Bologna, and that Giovanni Bologna would supervise work on the doors. On 2 March 1596 Seriaco writes to the Deputati: 'Spero che fra tutte le storie ce ne sara sei di mano di Giovanni Bologna, e l'altre saranno riviste e ridotte mediante il suo consiglio' (I hope that six of the scenes will be from the hand of Giovanni Bologna, and the others will be revised and retouched with his advice). Portigiani, on the other hand, at the same date held out the hope that Giovanni Bologna would execute two reliefs. A month later these hopes began to recede, and Seriaco reported that 'non apparisce che messer Giovanni Bologna faccia di sua mano le storie, ma si potra credere che la maggior parte, o forse tutte sieno come fatte da lui' (It seems that Master Giovanni Bologna will not be doing the scenes with his own hand, but one can suppose that most, or perhaps all, may be as if they were done by him). On 5 April 1596, however, Giovanni Bologna 'persiste nel suo proposito di non voler mettere mano nelle cose di altri, massime non havendo altro ne l'animo che il centauro, di sorte che l'altre cose vi hanno poco luogo' (persists in his intention not to touch others' things, particularly because he has nothing but the Centaur in his mind, so that other things have little place there). The narrative scenes were then allocated to other sculptors (see below), and on 22 April 1596 a contract was signed with Portigiani whereby the three doors were to be completed in two years. On 5 October 1596 Portigiani reported that two narrative scenes had been cast and returned to Caccini for cleaning and chasing, and that another would be moulded on Monday and cast the following day. Work was also in progress on the foliated frieze. Rapid as was this advance, the Deputati were dissatisfied. At the death of Portigiani (5 December 1602) a report was prepared showing that approximately half of the work on the doors was complete. In this Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the Flagellation, the Mocking of Christ, the Coronation of the Virgin and the Arrest of Christ are entered as 'storie finite e ricotte da gettare', the Nativity and Purification appear as

'storie interate e armate di ferro da una banda', the Adoration of the Magi and the Temptation were 'interate senza armare', and the Annunciation, Christ carrying the Cross and the Agony in the Garden were those 'che non e cavato la cera'. An inspection of the pieces was made by Pietro Tacca and Antonio Susini, on behalf of the Deputati, and control of the work was then handed over to Angiolo Serani, a pupil of Giovanni Bologna, by whom it was brought to completion. The scenes on the three doors are disposed as follows:

**CENTRAL DOOR. (Fig. 90).**

*Left wing (bottom to top).*

- The Birth of the Virgin (Giovanni Caccini; payment of 12 May 1599 for wax relief).
- The Marriage of the Virgin (Giovanni Caccini; payment of 5 May 1600).
- The Visitation (Pietro Francavilla; letter of Francavilla, quoted by Supino).
- The Assumption (Giovanni Caccini; payment of 5 May 1600. Perhaps remade by Angiolo Serani).

*Right wing (bottom to top).*

- The Purification of the Virgin (Giovanni Caccini; payment of 8 June 1599 for wax relief).
- The Annunciation (Giovanni Caccini; payment of 17 July 1599).
- The Presentation in the Temple (Gaspare Mola; consigned to Portigiani 5 November 1599).
- The Coronation of the Virgin (Orazio Mochi; consigned to Portigiani 9 February 1600. Perhaps remade by Angiolo Serani).

**LEFT DOOR. (Fig. 91).**

*Left wing (bottom to top).*

- The Nativity ('Ansí Tedesco,' probably Hans Reichel; payment not transcribed. Previously allocated to Giovanni Catesi).
- The Temptation of Christ (Giovanni Catesi; payment not transcribed).
- The Raising of Lazarus (Francesco della Bella; payment of 13 March 1601 for unspecified narrative scene identified by elimination as present relief).

*Right wing (bottom to top).*

- The Adoration of the Magi (Pietro Tacca; payment of 1601 not transcribed. Previously allocated to Giovanni Catesi).
- The Baptism of Christ (Pietro Francavilla; payment of 17 July 1601. Previously allocated to Raffaello Fortini; payment of 30 September 1600).
- Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Giovanni Catesi; payment not transcribed).

**RIGHT DOOR.**

*Left wing (bottom to top).*

- The Agony in the Garden (Gregorio Pagani; Baldinucci. Consigned to Portigiani 25 November 1600. Payment of 10 May 1601).
- The Mocking of Christ (Gregorio Pagani; Baldinucci).

Consigned to Portigiani 10 May 1601. Payment of 10 May 1601).

Christ carrying the Cross (Pietro Francavilla. Payment of 21 July 1601).

Right wing (bottom to top).

The Arrest of Christ (Pietro Francavilla. Payment of 10 November 1601).

The Flagellation (Gregorio Pagani; Baldinucci. Consigned to Portigiani 12 December 1600. Payment of 10 May 1601).

The Crucifixion (Gaspare Mola. Payment not transcribed).

Responsibility for the execution of the decorative parts of the doors cannot be apportioned with any confidence. It may be noted, however, that payments were made to Caccini for eighteen unspecified figures, twelve in niches and six on 'cartelle', which correspond with the figures of prophets on the central door; to Orazio Mochi for four figures of Apostles for the left door (SS. Thomas, James, Philip and Bartholomew), parts of the foliated frieze, eight vases, four with roses and four with cedar, four 'imprese, due d'un cane ed un lupo e due di testuggini', and four niches, to Angelo Scalani for parts of the foliated frieze, four 'imprese, due d'una civetta et una grua, et dua di due orioli per la porta maggiore', four vases of pome-

granates for the central door, sixteen niches for the lateral doors, and eight animals for the top and bottom of the lateral doors 'uno rinoceronte, uno cervio, un'aquila, un cigno, un ariete, un vitello et una vitella', to Angelo Serani for parts of the foliated frieze for the lateral doors, to Pietro Rutinesi for parts of the foliated frieze, to Antonio Susini for eight figures on the right door (four Apostles, two Evangelists, and SS. Thomas and Bonaventure), and to Raffaello Fortini for four figures of Apostles at the top of the left door (SS. Peter, Andrew, James and John; models apparently rejected).

When the first door was completed, an attempt was made to divert it to the Duomo in Florence, on the ground that at Pisa 'non sara visto da nessuno', but on 10 January 1603 it was drawn by twelve yoke of oxen to Ponte a Signa and shipped to Pisa. By December 1603 one of the lateral doors was finished, and of the last door thirteen pieces of frieze, four small figures and one narrative scene alone remained to be cast. In March 1604 the third door was also finished. At this point the Deputati offered a sum of 200 scudi to Serani. On 10 March 1604, however, a committee was appointed by the Grand-Duke to report on the doors, and this raised the remuneration to 500 scudi. A minimum figure of 460 scudi was eventually agreed by the Grand-Duke.

## PIETRO FRANCAVILLA

(b. 1548?; d. 1615)

Born at Cambrai between 1548 (Baldinucci) and 1553 (date on an engraved portrait by Pieter de Jode), Franqueville or Francheville, after a brief period in Paris, moved to Innsbruck (1566), where he worked for five or six years. Here he attracted the notice of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tirol, by whom he was sent to Italy (1571?) to study with Giovanni Bologna. He rapidly became Giovanni Bologna's principal assistant, travelling with him to Genoa in 1579, and assisting him in the carving of the Rape of the Sabines (see Plate 85 above), the marble statues of the Salviati Chapel (see Plate 89 above), and other works. A letter of 1582 from Simone Fortuna states that Francavilla 'non ha mai fatto nulla di suo cervello, lavorando sempre i modelli di Giovanni Bologna' (has never produced anything from his own brain, but has always executed Giovanni Bologna's models). It is debatable how far this is a correct statement of fact. As early as 1574 Giovanni Bologna transferred to Francavilla the commission for garden statues for the villa of Abate Antonio Bracci at Rovezzano (now at Kew Gardens, Windsor Castle, and the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford); one of these, the Apollo, is adapted from the Apollo of Giovanni Bologna in the Studiolo of the Palazzo Vecchio, but there is no reason to postulate the existence of models by Giovanni Bologna for the remaining statues. It has been wrongly suggested that the models for Francavilla's statues in the Niccolini Chapel (see Plate 94 below) are by Giovanni Bologna. In Genoa Francavilla executed

two colossal figures of Jupiter and Janus for the Palazzo Grimaldi (signed and dated 1585), and six statues for the Senarega Chapel in the Duomo. One of the finest of his independent statues is the Jason with the Golden Fleece, formerly in the Palazzo Zanchini and now in the Palazzo Ricasoli, Florence, and one of the poorest is the Orpheus in the Louvre, carved for Girolamo Gondi in 1598. To this phase belong the figure of Spring on the Ponte Santa Trinita, the two statues of Ferdinand I in the Piazza dei Cavalieri and Piazza San Nicola at Pisa (ca. 1594, after a model by Giovanni Bologna), the statue of Ferdinand I outside the Duomo at Arezzo (1595), and reliefs for the doors of Pisa Cathedral (see Plate 93 above). The last evidence of Francavilla's presence in Florence occurs on 21 November 1604, when he signed a will, before leaving for France whether he was invited by Henry IV and where he had apartments in the Louvre. His principal task there was the erection and completion of the equestrian monument of the King on the Pont Neuf (see Plate 95 below). A marble David in the Louvre dates from 1608, and shows a marked decline in quality from Francavilla's earlier works. He died in Paris on 25 August 1615.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The primary source for Francavilla's career is a life by Baldinucci. Good surveys are supplied by H. Vollmer, in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, xii, 1916, pp. 384-6, and Venturi

(X-iii, pp. 817-50). For Francavilla's part in the Giovanni Bologna workshop see Dhanens (*Jean Boulogne*, 1956, *passim*), and for the Bracci figures A. H. Scott-Elliott ('The Statues by Francavilla in the Royal Collection', in *Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1956, pp. 77-84).

*Plate 94: MOSES*  
Cappella Niccolini, Santa Croce, Florence

Dosio's Cappella Niccolini (Fig. 76) off the left transept of S. Croce is planned (Paatz) as a variant of the same architect's Gaddi Chapel in S. Maria Novella. Preparations for the building of the chapel appear to have begun in 1571, but work was initiated only after 1579, when the Niccolini acquired the Cappella dei Laudesi in S. Croce which occupied part of the site of the present chapel. Work on the chapel was still in progress in 1584, when it is mentioned by Borghini, and it is described as incomplete in wills drafted by Giovanni Niccolini on 15 July 1608 and 30 June 1611 (Richa). The cupola was completed before 1653, and the entire chapel was finished by 1664. The sculptures consist of marble figures of (right wall) Aaron (centre, over sarcophagus) and (left) Humility, and (left wall) Moses (centre, over sarcophagus), Virginity (left), and Prudence (right). The five figures are described by Richa in the following terms: 'Sopra de' Depositi laterali a man ritta vedesi una Statua di marmo bianco in una nicchia quadra, ornata di due colonnette di verde antico, rappresentasi in essa Aronne con abiti, ed ornamenti sacerdotali, ed all'incontro a man manca si vede un Mosè, che in atto simile, ma molto vivace, tiene le tavole della Legge. Restano dalle pareti tre altre nicchie, che terminano in tondo, nelle quali vi sono statue di femmine maggiori del naturale, scolpite l'una, e l'altra con raro artifizio da Pietro Francavilla Fiammingo' (Above the side tombs there is on the right a statue of white marble in a rectangular niche, decorated with two small green marble columns; the statue represents Aaron wearing the vestments and ornaments of a priest. Opposite this, on the left, is a Moses holding with a similar but very lively gesture the Tables of the Law. There are also three other niches in the walls, round-topped and containing figures of women, larger than life; they were all carved with unusual skill by Pietro Francavilla the Fleming). All five figures are signed by Francavilla, and are generally assumed to have been carved in or after 1585, when the chapel was dedicated. The Humility is inferior to the figures on the left wall, and is by a studio hand. Two terracotta sketch-models for the figures of Aaron and Moses are in the Museo Nazionale. These are dismissed by Brinckmann (*Barock-Bozzetti*, i, p. 18) as copies of the marble statues. Their status as sketch-models is vindicated by Kriegbaum (in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxviii, 1927, p. 50, n. 2). Kriegbaum regards the bozzetti as models by Giovanni Bologna on which the Francavilla figures are based, and is followed in this view by Paatz (i, pp. 576-7) and Dhanens (pp. 261-2). The case in favour of the view that the models are by Giovanni Bologna rests in the main on a statement of Simone Fortuna, in a letter of 10 February 1582 to the Duke of Urbino, that Francavilla 'non ha mai fatto nulla di suo cervello, Urbino, that Francavilla 'non ha mai fatto nulla di suo cervello,

lavorando sempre i modelli di Gio. Bologna.' The evidential value of this passage is questionable, and the two bozzetti differ appreciably from autograph sketch-models by Giovanni Bologna. Both are accepted as works of Francavilla by Venturi (X-iii, pp. 831-2). The folds of the cloak of Moses in the marble version are greatly elaborated.

*Plate 95: PRISONERS*  
Louvre, Paris

The four bronze Prisoners of Francavilla in the Louvre were cast for the corners of the base of the statue of Henry IV formerly on the Pont Neuf (for which see F. Boucher, *Le Pont Neuf*, ii, 1926, pp. 66-94). The proposal for the statue originated in 1604-5 with Marie de Médicis, who left Florence for France in 1600, and was therefore familiar with Giovanni Bologna's equestrian statue of Cosimo I in the Piazza della Signoria (see Plate 90 above). From a letter written by Marie de Médicis to Ferdinand I on 29 April 1605, it appears that the decision to commission an equestrian statue of Henry IV from Giovanni Bologna had already been communicated to the Grand-Duke. Giovanni Bologna at the time was engaged in completing the equestrian statue of Ferdinand I for the Piazza dell'Annunziata, and it was suggested by Marie de Médicis that in view of the sculptor's age, his work should be limited to the seated figure of the King, and that the Grand-Duke should send to Paris the horse from his own monument, which could then be replaced 'tout à loisir par le mesme ouvrier'. In reply the Grand-Duke refused to sacrifice the horse from his own monument, but agreed that the new horse should be moulded from the old. A bust of Henry IV was sent to Florence in 1606 to serve as a model for the portrait statue. In 1606 and 1607 emissaries of Marie de Médicis were sent to Florence to accelerate work on the statue and agree its price. In 1608 a M. d'Oquerre was instructed by the Queen to ascertain from the Grand-Duke how far the statue was advanced. After the death of Giovanni Bologna in this year, work on the monument was entrusted to Tacca, and it was cast, probably in the Portigiani workshop, and despatched to France (30 April 1613) by way of Leghorn and Havre, arriving in Paris on 4 July 1614. The first stone of the base had been laid on the Pont Neuf by Louis XIII on 2 June 1614. In the course of the summer the Commissaires et Directeurs des bâtiments et édifices du Pont Neuf proposed that Francavilla should be assisted by a second sculptor in carrying out the 'fontes de bronze du pied de l'estail', that is the four Prisoners, but on 25 July 1614 Marie de Médicis gave instructions that no other sculptor than Francavilla 'ne mette la main à cet ouvrage' since he had 'déjà fait les dessseings et modelles'. Early in September she acknowledged the arrival of the statue: 'les figures du feu Roy Monseigneur et le cheval de bronze sont enfin arrivée à bon port à Paris. J'ay été bien aisé de ces bonnes nouvelles la tant pour l'importance de la chose que pour nostre particulier contentement; je ne vois rien qui doive faire differer pour mettre ces figures hors des quaisse et de leurs enchaissements de bois et qu'au plus tost l'on ne travaille et donne ordre a les faire monter et poser . . . conformément aux avis du sculpteur Franqueville et

autres qui y doivent prendre garde.' The inauguration of the statue took place on 23 August 1614, when a procès verbal was inserted in a lead case in the belly of the horse stating that the monument had been begun by Giovanni Bologna, elaborated by Tacca, and sent by the Grand-Duke Cosimo II 'en très digne présent à la reine de France'. After the death of Francavilla, the four captives for the base were finished (1618) by his pupil Francesco Bordoni. Of the five reliefs projected for the base, three, showing the entry of Henry IV into Paris and the Battles

of Arques and Ivry, were modelled by Francavilla and completed by Bordoni, and two, the Siege of Amiens and the Siege of Montmelian, were executed by Barthelemy du Tremblay and Thomas Boudin (installed 1628). The statue was destroyed under the terms of a revolutionary decree of 10 August 1792; fragments of it are now in the Louvre, along with the four Slaves which survived intact. It was later replaced by a statue of Henry IV by Lemot, which was inaugurated by Louis XVIII in 1818 and is still in position on the Pont Neuf.

## PIETRO TACCA

(b. 1577; d. 1640)

Born at Carrara in 1577 and trained locally, Tacca, armed with an introduction from Alderano Cibo, moved to Florence in 1592, entering the workshop of Giovanni Bologna, where he was employed on the equestrian statue of Cosimo I (see Plate 90 above), and modelled a relief for the doors of Pisa Cathedral (see Plate 93 above). After the departure of Francavilla for France (1604), he became Giovanni Bologna's principal assistant, and is mentioned in a will drawn up by Giovanni Bologna on 1 September 1605 as the heir to his studio in the Borgo Pinti and to its contents. Tacca was responsible for the completion of the equestrian statues of Ferdinand I, Henry IV of France and Philip III of Spain, and in 1609 was appointed Giovanni Bologna's successor as sculptor to the Grand-Duke. Between 1615 and 1624 he carried out his most celebrated work, the four Slaves at the base of the monument of Ferdinand I at Leghorn (see Plate 96 below). In 1627 he cast for Leghorn two bronze fountains, which were not put in position and were later (1643) installed in the Piazza Annunziata in Florence, and at a date not ascertained he cast the bronze Boar in the Mercato Nuovo, after a Roman marble copy of a Hellenistic original. The most notable of the many bronze Crucifixes cast by Tacca was despatched to Spain with the equestrian statue of Philip III, and is now in the Escorial. The major commission carried out by Tacca in Florence is that for the tombs in the Cappella dei Principi (see Plate 97 below). In 1619 he modelled an equestrian statuette of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy (cast and completed 1621, now in the Löwenburg at Cassel). Between 1634 and his death on 26 October 1640 he was occupied with the great equestrian statue of Philip IV of Spain (Fig. 138).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The primary source for the career of Tacca is a life by Baldinucci. A modern monograph by E. Lewy (*Pietro Tacca*, 1929) gives a brief survey of Tacca's work, but makes no serious attempt to analyse his style, and reproduces a number of small bronzes by Bertos and other artists as Tacca's work. Its documentation is supplemented by S. Lo Vullo Bianchi ('Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca', in *Rivista d'Arte*, xiii, 1931, pp. 133-213).

*Plate 96: SLAVES  
Piazza della Darsena, Leghorn*

The history of the statue of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I of Tuscany at Leghorn (Fig. 60) (for which see H. Keutner, 'Ueber die Entstehung und die Form des Standbildes im Cinquecento', in *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, vii, 1956, pp. 158-60) begins in 1595 when the marble statue was commissioned from Giovanni Bandini. The statue was completed in 1599. In 1602 a base supported by Slaves is mentioned for the first time, and in 1607 Tacca was sent to Leghorn to prepare wax models of these figures. After the death of the Grand-Duke (1609) the statue was installed on its pedestal (1617), but in 1621 it was suggested by Tacca that the marble statue should be replaced by a statue of the 'Religione di S. Stefano' in bronze. This proposal was not accepted, and in 1622 bronze trophies (removed at the time of the French Revolution) were placed at the feet of the standing statue. The two Slaves on the front of the monument were installed in 1623 (when that on the right was reproduced in a drawing by Petel), and the two remaining Slaves were put in position in June 1624. According to Baldinucci, work on the Slaves was begun only in 1615: 'Aveva il nostro Pietro fino del 1615 ricevuta commissione dal Gran Duca di por mano all'adempimento dell'altro concetto di quell'Altezza, che fu d'ornare il Molo di Livorno col gran Colosso di Marmo fatto da Giovanni dell' Opera per rappresentare la G. Memoria del Gran Duca Ferdinando Primo e di altri quattro Schiavi Turchi incatenati al tronco della bellissima Base; onde egli applicatosi a tale insigne lavoro ne aveva incominciati grandi studj; ma il maggiore fu il portarsi a Livorno insieme con Cosimo Cappelli suo Discepolo, che da giovanetto formava eccellentemente: qui ebbe facoltà di valersi di quanti Schiavi vi avesse riconosciuti, de' muscoli più leggiadri, e più accomodati all'imitazione per formarne un perfettissimo corpo, e molti e molti ne formò nelle più belle parti. Uno di costoro fu uno Schiavo Mor o Turco, che chiamavasi per soprannome Morgiano, che per grandezza di persona, e per fattezze d'ogni sua parte era bellissimo, e fu di

grande ajuto al Tacca per condurne la bella figura, colla sua naturale effigie, che oggi vediamo; ed io che tali cose scrivo, in tempo di puerizia in età di dieci anni il vide, e conobbi, e parlai con esso non senza gusto, benchè in si poc' età, nel ravisar, che io facevo a confronto del Ritratto il bello originale.' (At the end of 1615 our Pietro received the commission from the Grand-Duke to set his hand to the completion of another project of his Highness, which was to decorate the Mole of Leghorn with the great marble colossus made by Giovanni dell' Opera to commemorate the Grand-Duke Ferdinand I and with four Turkish slaves chained to the beautiful base; having applied himself to this noble task, he had embarked on many studies, of which the chief was to visit Leghorn in the company of his pupil Cosimo Cappelli, who from boyhood modelled in a most excellent way. Here he was able to study many Slaves and to select those most suited for imitation to form an absolutely perfect body, and he modelled very many of them in their most beautiful parts. One was a Turkish Slave, named Morgiano, who for his size and lineaments was especially beautiful, and he was of great assistance to Tacca in modelling the beautiful figure which we see to-day. I who record these things saw him in boyhood at the age of ten, and young as I was, I enjoyed talking to him, as I compared the beautiful original with Tacca's likeness.) Baldinucci records the presence in the official house of the Grand-Ducal sculptor in the Borgo Pinti (then inhabited by Giovanni Battista Foggini) of models for gesso casts after the four Slaves, which were frequently reproduced as small bronzes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Two fountains by Tacca now in the Piazza Annunziata, Florence, were originally destined to form part of the same complex as the Leghorn statue.

Plate 97: FERDINAND I, GRAND-DUKE OF  
TUSCANY  
Cappella de' Principi, San Lorenzo, Florence

The plan for a funerary chapel for the members of the Grand-Ducal family was first conceived by Cosimo I, who, according to Vasari, planned to construct at S. Lorenzo 'una terza sagrestia . . . tutta di vari marmi mischi a musaico, per dentro chiudervi in Sepolcri ornatissimi, e degni della sua potenza, c grandezza l'ossa de' suoi morti figliuoli, del padre, madre, della magnanima Duchessa Eleanora sua Consorte, e di sè. Di ciò ho già fatto modello a suo gusto' (a third sacristy . . . covered with a mosaic of mixed and variegated marble; inside it, in highly decorated tombs worthy of his power and greatness, he intends to instal the bones of his dead children, of his father and mother, of the noble Duchess Eleanora his consort, and of himself. I have already made a model for it which he likes). Cosimo I died before this plan could be put in operation. A funeral oration for his son, Francesco I, preached by Monsignor Lorenzo Giacomini, Bishop of Achaea, on 21 December 1587, shows that he had intended to realise his father's plan ('avea deliberato erigere gloriosi Sepolcri, ornandoli di preziose pietre, calcedonii, prasme, sardonii, agate, e diaspri di variati colori, tutte da se con propria diligenza nc' suoi propri paesi ritrovate') (he had planned to raise noble tombs and decorate them with

precious stones, chalcedony, green and other agates, sardonyx and jasper of various colours, all of which he had himself through his own efforts found on his territory). The construction of the chapel was finally undertaken by Ferdinand I, who is described by Moreni (*Descrizione della gran cappella delle Pietre Dure e della sagrestia vecchia . . . nell'imp. Basilica di S. Lorenzo di Firenze*, Florence, 1813, p. 6) as 'Principe assuefatto alle grandezze del Vaticano'. Plans for the chapel were prepared by Buontalenti, Don Giovanni de' Medici, brother of the Grand-Duke, and Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, the model by Buontalenti being rejected in favour of that of Don Giovanni de' Medici. Some of the considerations which influence this unfortunate decision are given in a letter from Giorgio Vasari il Giovane to the Grand-Duke (printed by Franceschini, 'San Lorenzo — xv,' in *Il Nuovo Osservatore Fiorentino*, 1886, p. 368): 'dico, che il modello dell' illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo signor Don Giovanni mi piace piu, poiche egli lo divisa e scompartisce di maniera che si vede in una occhiata sola ogni cosa, cosi per le mura, dove egli finge le nicchie colle statue, come anche nelle tribunette che sono da' lati dove vanno que' sepolcri piu piccoli. Il che non succede in quello di M. Bernardo, perche, facendovi sette cappelle, o vero nicchie, difficilmente si puo in un'occhiata sola vedere ogni cosa senza entrare o condursi nel mezzo. . . . Delle statue, e de' sepolcri che in questo tempio sono cosa di considerazione, mi pare che oltre alla bella invenzione loro, il Signore collochi le statue come conviene in bellissime nicchie ed osserva il decoro dell'architettura. M. Bernardo fa posare le sue sopra certe mensole poste e finte in un paese di maniera tale che pare che elle passeggiino per un giardino, o vero che siano attaccate a una tela di Fiandra' (I declare that I prefer the model designed by the illustrious and excellent Don Giovanni; for he has laid it out and divided it up in such a way that one can see everything at a glance, both as regards the walls, where he makes niches with statues, and in the small tribunes at the sides, where the smaller tombs stand. This is not the case with Master Bernardo's model: as he has seven chapels or niches in it, it is difficult to see everything at a glance without entering or walking to the centre. . . . As for the statues and the tombs, which have a particular importance in this church, I think that, quite apart from their fine invention, his Lordship properly puts the statues in fine niches and conforms to the decorum of the architecture. Master Bernardo, on the other hand, has his on top of some consoles, represented as being in a landscape, so that they seem to be strolling through a garden, or stuck on some Flemish tapestry). The foundation stone of the Chapel, which was to be 'superiore di pregio alla Casa aurea di Nerone, et a quella del Re Ciro,' was laid on 10 January 1604, and construction proceeded under the direction of Nigetti, who departed at a number of points from the original design (Paatz, ii, pp. 487-90), producing 'eine fröhbarocke Variation über das Thema des Florentiner Baptisteriums.' The installation of the pietra dura was begun in 1613, but the introduction of the figure sculptures was deferred till a considerably later date. The contract for two of these, representing Cosimo II and Ferdinand I, was awarded to Pietro Tacca on 19 August 1626 (S. Lo Vullo Bianchi, 'Note e documenti su Pietro e Ferdinando Tacca,' in *Rivista d'Arte*, xiii, 1931, p. 204): 'Magnifica Serenissima ha comandato di dire

a V. S. Ill. ma che Ella ricordi a S.A. di dar opra per fare due delle figure grandi per la regia Cappella cioè quella per il Granduca Ferdinando e S.A. Cosimo di Gloriosa Memoria pelle quale S.A. vuole che se ne faccia il modello grande, che saranno da 8 braccia luno per farvi lega la forma di gesso e gettarli quanto prima di esso gesso, e metterli e posarli nelle nicchie di detta Cappella quali forme è modello grande serviranno poi per farle di bronzo. Per tutte queste spese prima di un modello piccolo e per l'ossatura fattane e varie spese per il grande, e formarli e spese di gesso ci andra da sc. 250 per l'un incerca - e più a gettarli di gesso per suddetta per ora sara di spesa da 40 scudi incirca et sara per auto a V.S. Ill. ma alla quale faccio reverenza' (His Highness has given instructions for Your Lordship to be informed that he urges Your Lordship to set to work on making two of the large figures for the Cappella Regia, namely that of the Grand-Duke Ferdinand (I) and that of His Highness Cosimo (II) of glorious memory. Each is to be 8 braccia high, and His Highness wishes that you should make large models for them, and fill the moulds with a mixture of plaster and so cast them first in plaster, and that you should put these in place in the niches of the said Capella Regia; and these moulds and large models would then be used for making (the figures) out of bronze. The total expenditure on these, first for small models and the armatures made for them, and then various expenditure for the large ones and for moulding them, and the expenditure on plaster, will come to about 250 scudi each; and further, for casting them temporarily in plaster for this, about 40 scudi. And this will be received by Your Lordship: to whom I make reverence).

According to Baldinucci, there was some initial doubt as to whether the figures should be carved in marble or cast in bronze: 'Era l'Anno 1630 terribile alla nostra Città per la crudele pestilenzia, quando trovandosi il Tacca a cagione della medesima senza impiego di gran momento, forte temendo, che i molti Scultori, ch'ei teneva in suo servizio, non abandonassero esso, e la Città per portarsi in diverse parti, e quel ch'era più, a' servigi d'altri Principi, onde si facesser comuni all'Europa tutte le belle invenzioni, e'l bel segreto da lui inventato per le fusioni de' Metalli, per la facilità de' Getti, e finalmente per la leggiadra, e stabile commettitura de' pezzi, e avendo osservato, che nella Regia Cappella di S. Lorenzo erano i grandi Colossi di Gesso, fatti pure da lui sopra i Sepolcri, de' quali dovevano esser poi le figure di Marmo di Francesco Primo, di Ferdinando Primo, e di Cosimo Secondo Gran Duchi, ottenne che le Statue non si facessero altrimenti di Marmo, ma di Metallo, e ciò non senza gran contrasto, e contro la volonta di Michelagnolo Buonarroti il giovane, e di Jacopo Giraldi l'uno l'altro deputati sopra tale affare, e che già s'erano impegnati d'appoggiare ad altri tale nobile lavoro, offerendosi il Tacca di comporre le grandi figure con tale artifizio, che dovendo essere di molti pezzi inchiarvati per commettersi, e scommettersi bene, potesse poi riuscire il dorargli a oro macinato, giacchè non poteansi comodamente macchine sì smisurate dorare a fuoco, e questo oltre al cimento d'una eccedentissima spesa. Era fra questi il gran Modello di gesso del Ferdinando, del quale sotto il corto calzone scopriva la metà della coscia calzata insieme con la gamba al modo di vestire di quei tempi, restando l'altra coperta dal ricco abbiglia-

mento di panno, ma i malevoli a lor solito non potendo attaccare l'Artefice in altra cosa, per detrarre alle sue onorevolenze, dissero, che quella Statua con quella coscia scoperta rappresentava inanzi la figura d'un S. Rocco che quello che doveva rappresentare, e andò la cosa a segno che convenne al Tacca il rifarne un nuovo Modello, che veramente riuscì bellissimo' (The year 1630 was a terrible one for our city on account of the cruel plague. Tacca, at this time and for this reason, found himself without any important commission on hand, and very much feared that the many sculptors he had in his service would leave both him and the city and go off to different places, in the service, moreover, of other princes; and he feared that in this way all his fine inventions and the secret process he had discovered for founding metals, making casting easier and also assembling the parts neatly and firmly, would be spread all over Europe. So, as he noticed that there were in the Cappella Regia of S. Lorenzo the colossal plaster figures, made by him himself above the tombs, which were intended ultimately to be marble figures of the Grand Dukes Francesco I, Ferdinand I and Cosimo II, he contrived that the figures should not be made of marble but rather of metal. It was against much opposition that he effected this, and against the wishes of Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger and Jacopo Giraldo, who were the two deputies in charge of this undertaking and had already committed themselves to allotting this noble commission to other artists. Tacca undertook to construct the figures in such a way that, since they were to consist of a number of pieces bolted together for proper assembly and disassembly, it would be possible to gild them successfully with ground gold; for such huge objects could not conveniently be fire gilded, which, quite apart from the risk, would be extremely expensive. One of the figures was the large plaster model of Ferdinand; in this, half of the stocking'd thigh and the leg was shown uncovered under the short breeches, as was the fashion at that time, while the other was covered by the rich arrangement of the drapery. Ill-wishers, as is their habit, since they could not attack him on any other grounds, detracted from his honour by saying that this statue with the uncovered thigh was more like the figure of St. Roch than him who it was meant to be. And the matter came to such a point, that Tacca was obliged to make a new model for it, which indeed turned out most beautiful). Tacca worked on the two figures of Cosimo II and Ferdinand I between 1626 and 1634, when he was instructed by the Grand-Duke to work exclusively on the equestrian monument for Madrid. According to an unconfirmed statement of Campori, he received a payment of 3,000 scudi for the completion of the statue of Cosimo II on 28 September 1631. Tacca died on 26 October 1640, when work was still in progress on the equestrian statue. The unfinished statue of Ferdinand I is mentioned in a memorandum submitted by his sons and heirs to Pierfrancesco de' Ricci, provveditore generale delle fortezze (D. M. Manni, *Addizioni necessarie alle vite de' due celebri statuari Michelagnolo Buonarroti e Pietro Tacca*, Florence, 1774: 'Una Statua di circa braccia otto di bronzo per la Regia Cappella, la quale perchè fu di sua nuova invenzione, e non più provata, portò seco e spesa, e tempo il doppio più del premeditato') (A bronze figure of about 8 braccia for the Cappella Regia

which, since it was made by his new and untried method, took twice as much time and money as was expected). After the completion of the statue in Madrid (29 October 1642), Ferdinando Tacca returned to Florence, and finished the outstanding statue (Baldinucci). There is some confusion about the early history of the project for statues in the Cappella de' Principi, which appears at one time to have provided for marble statues of Francesco I, Ferdinand I and Cosimo II by Giovanni Bologna five braccia in height. It is also possible that Ferdinand I at

one time contemplated a tomb with two large marble supporting figures (Patrizi, *Il Giambologna*, 1905, p. 214: 'Anzi, sta il fatto che nel 1599 il Principe mandò a Carrara due intagliatori per scegliere tre grossi blocchi di marmo destinati al Giambologna perchè da essi ritraesse due grandi figure simboliche da porre ai lati della propria statua') (In 1599 the Duke sent two sculptors to Carrara to select three great blocks of marble, for Giambologna to make two large symbolic figures to put at the sides of his own statue).

## GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA

(d. 1577)

The birth-date of Guglielmo della Porta is not recorded. Nothing is known of his father Cristoforo della Porta; his uncle, the sculptor Gian Giacomo della Porta, is generally assumed (Gramberg) to have been born about 1485 and died in 1555. If, however, as is supposed by some students (Gibellino-Krascenninikowa), Gian Giacomo della Porta is identical with an artist of this name active at Pavia in 1494-5, and Guglielmo with an artist of this name active in Milan till 1534, the former would have been born about 1470 and the latter about 1490. The first satisfactory record of Guglielmo della Porta's activity occurs in Genoa, where he was working in partnership with his uncle Gian Giacomo and Niccold da Corte in 1534. He appears to have been active in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Cathedral (1530-3) and in the Cibo chapel (see Plate 98 below). The evidence regarding the duration of Guglielmo's residence in Genoa is contradictory. He is first mentioned in Rome on 3 May 1546 when he received a payment for marble doors of the Sala del Re in the Vatican. It has been inferred from this (Gibellino-Krascenninikowa) that Guglielmo remained in Genoa until shortly before this time. According to Vasari (whose pages on the sculptor are conspicuously well informed), Guglielmo della Porta moved from Genoa to Rome in 1537. Both in Genoa and Rome he appears to have been associated (Gramberg) with the painter Perino del Vaga, and he was perhaps responsible (ca. 1537-8) for executing stuccoes in the Cappella Massimi of S. Trinita dei Monti (destroyed). At this time, according to Vasari, Guglielmo came in contact with Michelangelo. Despite a subsequent rupture between Guglielmo and Michelangelo, the former showed no reluctance to acknowledge his indebtedness to the older artist ('et anch'io credendo di esser in nel numero delli suoi scolari'). In 1547, on the death of Sebastiano del Piombo, Guglielmo della Porta succeeded to the office of Bollatore Apostolico, and thereafter is known as Fra Guglielmo della Porta. Guglielmo's career in Rome is relatively fully documented. On 14 August 1546 he received payment for a head of Antoninus Pius for the Castel Sant'Angelo, and for a bust. Later in the year (23 December 1546) payments relate to the repair of a marble Cupid and to a bust of the Pope. On 9 December 1547 payment was made for a

bronze bust of the Pope. Three marble busts of Pope Paul III (two in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Camodimonte and one in the Museo di San Martino at Naples) appear to have been carved at this time. Before the death of the Pope (1549) Guglielmo was also engaged in preparing a seated statue for the Pope's tomb (see Plate 100 below). Work on this commission occupied him for many years, and the monument was not finally erected till 1575. At this time he was employed by the Fabbrica of the Palazzo Farnese. In March 1551 he repaired an antique female figure of a Faun (Bacchessa), and in August of this year was engaged on a relief of Vulcan. Documents of 1556 refer to a marble St. John the Baptist carved for the portal of the Castel Sant'Angelo, the completion of two bronze candlesticks ordered by Pope Paul III, and prophets and angels destined for the Cappella Paolina. A will drawn up by Guglielmo della Porta on 4 July 1558 refers to the presence in his studio of Passion scenes and bronze crucifixes. Some of the former seem to have been cast in bronze in 1564-5. In 1569 Guglielmo was involved as arbitrator in a dispute over the gilding of the ceiling of St. John Lateran. In 1574 he obtained a bull authorising him to dispose freely of his own property despite his religious status. He died in 1577. Guglielmo della Porta's principal works, apart from those noted above and below, comprise:

- (i) Monuments of Paolo (d. 1537) and Federigo (d. 1565) Cesi in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome (Fig. 146).
- (ii) Monument of Bernardino Elvino in S. Maria del Popolo (ca. 1548).
- (iii) A cycle of sixteen reliefs of scenes from Ovid, cast initially by Cobaert and much plagiarised in the late sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A version of one of these, with the Fall of the Giants, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is signed by Guglielmo's natural son Fidia.

In addition there are records of a number of lost major works, which include:

- (i) Four statues of Prophets in the Cappella Paolina mentioned

by Guglielmo in a letter to Cardinal Farnese, made in the first year of the pontificate of Paul IV (1555). Instructions given by the Pope to the Cardinal of Carpi that these should be cast in bronze for the niches of the cupola piers of St. Peter's appear to have been cancelled on the death of the Pope (1559).

- (ii) Fourteen scenes from the life of Christ described by the artist as 'il più ricco e onorato lavoro che sia mai fatto in scultura da' moderni'. These were at one time to have been placed in a circular structure housing an equestrian monument of the Emperor Charles V projected in the first year of the Pontificate of Julius III (1549-50), were later, under Pius IV, to have been assembled in a door, and were subsequently proposed to Cosimo I de' Medici as a door incorporating subsidiary figures and a portrait of the Duke. These projects can be in part reconstructed from the sketchbooks by Guglielmo della Porta at Düsseldorf (Gronau). One of the reliefs is identified by Gramberg ('Die Hamburger Bronzestatue Paul III. Farnese von Guglielmo della Porta,' in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer*, 1961, pp. 160-72) with a Flagellation formerly in Berlin.
- (iii) A project for altars for St. Peter's (prepared before 1567) with large reliefs showing the Deposition, the Presentation of the Keys and Pentecost, and (?) Christ's entry into Jerusalem. These have also been in part reconstructed from the Düsseldorf sketchbooks (Gronau).

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A monograph by M. Gibellino-Krasceninikowa (*Guglielmo della Porta, scultore del Papa Paolo III Farnese*, Rome, 1944) is inadequate. The transcription of documents throughout this book is unreliable, and for these reference should be made to Bertolotti (*Artisti Lombardi a Roma*, Milan, 1881, 2 vols.), and other primary sources. An excellent analysis of the Paul III monument by E. Steinmann (*Das Grabmal Pauls III in St. Peter in Rom*, Rome, 1912) is restricted only by the fact that quotations from the letters of Annibale Caro relating to the tomb are quoted throughout in German translation not in the original. For these reference should be made to *Delle lettere del Commendatore Annibal Caro*, 3 vols., Padua, 1763-5, and *Delle lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro*, Venice, 1574. For the Düsseldorf sketch-books and cognate works see G. Gronau ('Über zwei Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta in der Düsseldorfer Akademie', in *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxix, 1918, pp. 171-200). From the scattered literature of the Ovid plaquettes mention must be made of R. Berliner ('Ein Plakettenfolge von Jacob Cobaert', in *Archiv für Medaillen und Plakettenkunde*, 1921-2, pp. 134-5), L. Planiscig (*Die Estensische Kunstsammlung in Wien*, 1919, pp. 188-92), J. Goldsmith Phillips ('Guglielmo della Porta: his Ovid Plaquettes', in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxxiv, 1939, pp. 148-51), and, most notably, W. Gramberg ('Guglielmo della Porta, Coppe Fiammingo und Antonio Gentili da Faenza,' in *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, v, 1960, pp. 31-52).

*Plate 98: THE CHAPEL OF THE APOSTLES  
Duomo, Genoa*

The history of the Chapel of SS. Peter and Paul in the Duomo at Genoa is confused, and the sculptures carved for it present a number of attributional difficulties. In 1529 the architect Domenico de' Marchesi da Caranca was requested to undertake the construction of a sacristy for the Chapel of St. John the Baptist and two chapels beneath the organ. There is some doubt as to whether the chapels beneath the organ were proceeded with since in the following year (1530) Giuliano Cibo, Bishop of Girgenti, applied for a space beneath the organ in which to construct a funerary chapel. The contract for the chapel and its sculptures, which appears to have been entered into not long after with Gian Giacomo della Porta, Guglielmo della Porta and Niccolò da Corte, does not survive. On 10 February 1533, however, an agreement (for which see S. Varni, 'Delle opere di Gian Giacomo e Guglielmo della Porta e Niccolò da Corte in Genova', in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, iv, 1866, pp. 35-78) was drawn up between Gian Giacomo della Porta and Niccolò da Corte on the one hand and Bernardo di Giovanni Sisto and Bernardo Pellicia of Carrara on the other, by which the latter were to supply a quantity of pieces of marble itemised separately in the document. It was specified that 'omnes figurae et sic figura mortui debent esse pulcrae albae sine vene et marmore de lo polvazo', and provision was made in the contract for marble for six statues and an effigy. Work on the chapel was certainly in progress before 23 December 1534, when the three sculptors, who had formed a collective profit-sharing body, stipulated that the agreement entered into for the distribution of earnings should apply to the still unfinished Cibo Chapel ('et sic intelligatur comprehensum opus quod restat ad perficiendum Reverendi Domini Episcopi Agrigentini quod reponi debet in Ecclesia Sancti Laurentii; Januae'). On 9 August 1535 Gian Giacomo della Porta (on his own behalf and that of Guglielmo and Niccolò da Corte) acknowledged the receipt of a total sum of 790 scudi (for this document see Alizeri, *Notizie dei Professori di Disegno*, v, Genoa, 1877, p. 177). Giuliano Cibo died on or before 12 January 1536, and in a will drawn up before his death provided for the completion of the Chapel ('Item, jussit et legavit compleri dictam Capellam, jam construi inceptam in dicta Ecclesia major; Ianuensi sub vocabulo S. Petri et Pauli in omnibus prout extat instrumento inter ipsum Rev. Testatorem, et magistros fabricantes ipsam Capellam') (Item, he ordered and appointed that the said Chapel, the construction of which had already been begun in the said Cathedral of Genoa, should be completed in the name of SS. Peter and Paul, in every way according to the deed drawn up between the Rev. testator and the Masters who are building the chapel). The Chapel was completed in 1537, when objection was raised to the fact that the tomb protruded too far into the church; this appears to have been rectified (for these documents see Alizeri, op. cit., v, pp. 179-81). The recumbent effigy has been removed from the chapel. In its present form (Fig. 143) the altar consists of a central niche, containing a seated figure of the Redeemer accompanied by (left) St. Peter and (right) St. Paul, lateral niches with figures of

(left) St. Jerome and (right) St. John the Baptist, and at the two ends, standing on a front plane, statues of (left) Abraham and (right) Moses. Beneath are two large reliefs, each with two Virtues, and above are small reliefs with scenes from the legends of the Saints and Prophets represented on the altar. There is some reason for supposing (Varni) that the original disposition of the statues has been changed, since the scenes of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Freeing of St. Peter appear respectively over the statues of SS. Peter and Paul. The statues of SS. Jerome and John the Baptist are not sunk into the base of their niches. There is no direct evidence for the authorship of individual statues or reliefs, and this must be deduced (i) from works executed by Guglielmo della Porta in Rome and (ii) from works executed by Gian Giacomo della Porta and Niccolò da Corte after Guglielmo della Porta had left Genoa. Vasari states that Guglielmo della Porta 'al vescovo di Servega fece due ritratti di marmo ed un Moisè maggiore del vivo il quale fù posto nella chiesa di San Lorenzo' (made two marble portraits for the Bishop of Servega, and a Moses larger than life, which was put in the church of S. Lorenzo). It is assumed by Alizeri that Vasari's reference is to the Abraham not the Moses. Venturi (X-iii, pp. 534-6) ascribes the Redeemer to Guglielmo della Porta, along with the relief of Justice and Fortitude below, and Gibellino-Krascennikowa (in *Illustrazione Vaticana*, Anno III, 1932, vol. I, p. 302 ff., 344 ff., 407 ff.) credits him with the four Saints and two Prophets, and (Guglielmo della Porta, pp. 34-5) the frieze above and the statues of the Redeemer and of SS. John the Baptist and Jerome. Gramberg (in Thieme, *Künstlerlexikon*, xxvii, 1933, pp. 282-3) accepts the Abraham as a work of Guglielmo della Porta, but questions the attribution to him of the SS. Peter and Paul. The only statues on the altar for which the name of Guglielmo della Porta can be seriously entertained are the Abraham and the St. Paul (which is executed by a different hand from the St. Peter, and is a work of exceptional force). The Moses conforms closely to the later statues carved by Gian Giacomo della Porta for the choir of the Cathedral. All of the six small narrative reliefs are by a single artist, but the two reliefs of Virtues are by separate hands, one of which may (as suggested by Venturi) be that of Guglielmo della Porta. The difficulty of identifying the individual sculptors responsible for the altar results from the cooperative procedure practised in the Della Porta studio.

Plates 99, 100: THE TOMB OF POPE PAUL III  
St. Peter's, Rome

Guglielmo della Porta's monument of Pope Paul III (Fig. 145) (for the documentation of which see K. Escher, 'Guglielmo della Porta', in *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, xxxii, 1909, pp. 302-20; L. Cadier, 'Le tombeau du pape Paul III Farnese', in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, ix, 1889, pp. 49-92; and, definitively, E. Steinmann, *Das Grabmal Pauls III in St. Peter in Rom*, Rome, 1912) was commissioned on 17 November 1549 after the death of the Pope, when a sum of 10,000 ducats was allotted to the monument. Certain features of the monument were already predetermined, since the Pope before his death had selected an

antique sarcophagus in which he wished his body to be placed, and had purchased from Guglielmo della Porta for use in the tomb a marble base decorated with bronze scrolls and reliefs originally intended for the tomb of the Bishop of Solis at Salamanca. The tomb was eventually erected in 1575 at the expense of the Pope's great-nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese: a medal struck on the Cardinal's instructions in this year describes the monument as 'aere publico inchoatum, adjecta de suo pecunia perfecit an. Jub. M.D.LXXV' (begun with public funds, he completed it with money added from his own resources, in the Jubilee year of 1575). Supervision of the execution of the monument was entrusted by Cardinal Farnese to Annibale Caro and Antonio da Capodistria, Bishop of Pola. From letters written by Annibale Caro to the Cardinal of Santa Croce and the Bishop of Pola in 1550 and on 5 August 1551 it is known that a wooden model had been prepared. At this time it was intended that the tomb should be free-standing; the sarcophagus selected by the Pope was to rest in the chapel-like interior, and the structure was to be supported by eight terms. Provision was made for eight recumbent allegorical statues, with, at the top, the bronze figure of the Pope. On 25 November 1553 it was reported by Annibale Caro that the statue of the Pope had been cast in the autumn of 1552 and was then complete. A document of May 1553 refers to the chasing of the statue. The Allegories (the models for which had been approved in July 1552) were already under way. From a further letter of Annibale Caro of 6 April 1554 we learn that the first marble statue was finished by this time and that the second had been begun, and that the marble blocks for the third and fourth figures had been moved to Guglielmo della Porta's workshop. The completed statue was the Justice. The drapery by which this figure is now covered was added by Teodoro della Porta in 1593-4; before this addition it is described by Vasari as 'una figura nuda sopra un panno a giacere'. By 1555 the sum of 8042 ducats had been expended on the bronze figure of the Pope, the four marble allegories and other materials. The total cost of the monument was 26,500 ducats.

In the form in which it was approved by Caro (who in 1551 vetoed a proposal of the sculptor that statues of the four Seasons should be incorporated in the tomb), it comprised the central statue of the Pope raised on a bronze base decorated with four putti at the corners and reliefs of (left) Hope and Faith, and (right) Temperance and Fortitude. Four marble allegories were set on consoles two at the front and two behind. The tomb seems also to have included a relief of River Gods which is mentioned by Vasari but is not recorded in documents. Exception to the size and scheme of the monument was taken by Michelangelo. The nature of his objections are given in detail by Vasari: 'il quale (Guglielmo della Porta) avendo ordinato di metterla in San Piero sotto il primo arco della nuova chiesa sotto la tribuna, che impediva il piano di quella chiesa, e non era in verità il luogo suo; e perchè Michelagnolo consigliò giudiziosamente che la non poteva nè doveva stare, il frate gli prese odio, credendo che lo facesse per invidia; ma ben s'è poi accorto che gli diceva il vero, e che il mancamento è stato da lui, che ha avuto la comodità, e non l'ha finita, come si dirà altrove; ed io ne fo fede, avvengachè l'anno 1550 io fussi, per ordine di

papa Giulio terzo, andato a Roma a servirlo, e volentieri per godermi Michelagnolo, fui per tal consiglio adoperato: dove Michelagnolo desiderava che tal sepoltura si mettessi in una delle nicchie dove è oggi la colonna dei spiritati, che era il luogo suo; ed io mi ero adoperato, che Giulio terzo si risolveva, per corrispondenza di quella opera, far la sua nell' altra nicchia col medesimo ordine che quella di papa Paulo; dove il frate che la prese in contrario, fu cagione che la sua non s'è mai poi finita, e che quella di quello altro pontefice non si facessi; che tutto fu pronosticato da Michelagnolo' (Guglielmo arranged to put it in St. Peter's, under the first arch of the new church, beneath the tribune; this obstructed the floor of the church, and was certainly not the best place. Because Michelangelo quite rightly advised that it could not stand there, Guglielmo fell out with him, thinking that he was doing this out of envy; but he later realised that Michelangelo had been right, and that it was he himself who had been in the wrong, since he had had the opportunity and yet had not finished it, as I shall tell presently. And I myself bear witness to this, because in 1550 I had gone by order of Pope Julius III to Rome to work for him, which I did willingly out of affection for Michelangelo, and so took part in this discussion. Michelangelo wanted the tomb put in one of the niches, where the Column of the Possessed now is, and that was the best place; and I had contrived that Julius III should decide, so as to balance the other work, to have his own tomb made in the other niche after the same design. But in this Guglielmo, who set himself against it, was responsible for his own work being unfinished, and also for the other Pope's tomb not being made; and Michelangelo had predicted all this). The subsequent history of the monument is not altogether clear. On 16 August 1553 a contract was entered into with Giovanangelo Gellato for the construction of the tomb. Prior to this time it had been agreed between Michelangelo and the Cardinal of Santa Croce that it should stand 'ne la cappella del Re de l'entrare a man manca, con disegno che dirimpetto ve n'abbia da stare un altro per un altro Pontefice.' A document of 6 April 1554 states that the foundations were to be laid in a few months, but that objections might be raised by Michelangelo. Before 25 November 1553 the statue of the Pope had been placed in the first arcade of the new tribune of St. Peter's. After the deaths of Michelangelo (1564) and Annibale Caro (1566) Pope Gregory XIII authorised the erection of the tomb as a free-standing monument in the right aisle of the new basilica. A drawing by Grimaldi (Cod. Vat. Barb. 2733) shows the tomb as it was set up at this time, with two allegories in front and two behind. The tomb was subsequently transferred to the pier beneath the cupola which now houses the St. Andrew of

Duquesnoy; at this time (1587) the pairs of allegories were shown above each other on the front of the monument. In 1628 the tomb was finally transferred to the apse of the church as a pendant to the Urban VIII monument of Bernini. At this time two of the allegories (Peace and Abundance) were removed from the tomb; these statues are now in the Palazzo Farnese. At the same time the base of the monument was reduced; the reliefs of Faith and Fortitude (which are recorded in drawings by Grimaldi) and two of the four putti have disappeared. There is some additional visual evidence for the stages through which the design of the monument passed, in the form (i) of a drawing by Guglielmo della Porta at Düsseldorf (see G. Gronau, 'Über zwei Skizzenbücher des Guglielmo della Porta in der Düsseldorfer Akademie', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxix, 1918, pp. 171-200) showing the effigy of Paul III incorporated in a wall monument beneath a baldacchino, and (ii) of a Michelangelesque drawing in the Ambrosiana at Milan identified by Steinmann as a version of a scheme by Michelangelo for a fresco above the niche in the cupola pier now containing the Longinus, in which he wished the Paul III statue to be displayed.

*Plate 101: POPE PAUL III*  
Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

Made of white marble and giallo antico, the bust appears to have been carved in 1546-7, and is probably identical with 'un ritratto del papa' for which a payment was made on 23 December 1546 (for this see Bertolotti, 'Speserie segrete e pubbliche di Paolo III', in *Atti e memorie per le provincie dell'Emilia Sez. Modena*, iii, 1878, p. 207, and Gramberg, 'Die Hamburger Bronzestatue Paul III Farnese von Guglielmo della Porta', in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum 60. Geburtstage*, Hamburg, 1959, pp. 160-72), and with a bust recorded in 1568 in the possession of Cardinal Farnese (for this see *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, i, 1878, p. 73). An inferior workshop bust in which the head is a replica of the present bust but which lacks the decoration on the cope, is also in the Museo di Capodimonte (H. 73 cm.). A small bronze bust, which is possibly prior to the two marbles, is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, and a third unfinished marble bust, which was also in Farnese possession, is in the Museo di San Martino, Naples. On the front of the cope are figures of Abundance, Peace, Victory and Justice, and on the shoulders are reliefs of (right) Moses and the Tables of the Law, and (left) Moses and the dead Egyptians. The political significance of the two last scenes is discussed by Gramberg.

## ANNIBALE FONTANA

(b. 1540?; d. 1587)

Of Milanese origin, Annibale Fontana was active initially as a gem engraver. He appears to have been trained as a sculptor in Rome, and was active in 1570 in Palermo in association with the Sicilian sculptor Vincenzo Gaggini. Returning to Milan, he was employed after 1574 on the sculptures of S. Maria presso San Celso (see Plate 102 below). In Milan he enjoyed a considerable practice as a bronze caster, producing four great candlesticks for the Certosa at Pavia (1580) and works for S. Fedele in Milan and for Bergamo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Venturi (X-iii, pp. 466-82), and the article by Kris noted below.

Plate 102: THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN  
S. Maria presso S. Celso, Milan

The façade designed by Alessi for S. Maria presso San Celso in Milan (Fig. 144) was completed in 1572, and a year later Stoldo Lorenzi was engaged to supply the sculptural decoration (for this see E. Kris, 'Materialien zur Biographie des Annibale Fontana und zur Kunstopographie der Kirche S. Maria presso S. Celso in Mailand', in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, iii, 1919-32, pp. 201-53). By 1575 two statues by Stoldo Lorenzi, an Adam (now in the Museo Civico, Milan, based on the Adam of Bandinelli) and an Eve, both destined for the niches at the base of the façade, were complete. Between 1575 and 1578 the sculptor seems to have been mainly

engaged on four figures destined for niches in the interior of the church beneath the cupola, but in the latter year he resumed work on the façade, carving the Annunciation over the entrance (1578). By 31 December 1581 he had completed a further figure of Ezechiel for the façade, as well as reliefs of the Adoration of the Magi and the Flight into Egypt. Early in the following year he left Milan for Tuscany. Concurrently Annibale Fontana (who entered the service of the Fabbrica in 1574, a year after Stoldo Lorenzi) was also employed on sculptures for the façade and interior of the church. The sequence of Fontana's work on the façade is represented by statues of Isaiah and Jeremiah (1575-6), two reclining figures of Sibyls beneath Stoldo Lorenzi's Annunciation over the central doorway (1577), a large relief of the Adoration of the Shepherds above the entrance (1580), a statue of Zacharias and a relief of the Presentation in the Temple (1582), and the figure of the Virgin at the apex of the façade (1584) and two angels nearby (1587). In the interior of the church two statues of (left) St. John the Baptist and (right) Elias were completed for niches beneath the cupola by Stoldo Lorenzi, who was also responsible for carving four scenes from the life of the Virgin above the niches. A third statue (right) of St. John the Evangelist was carved by Annibale Fontana. The fourth niche (left) is blocked by the Altar of the Virgin, which is set at right angles to the presbytery. For this Fontana undertook a Virgin of the Assumption with two Angels (completed 1586), to which two angels holding a crown above the Virgin's head were later added by Giulio Cesare Procaccini.

## LEONE LEONI

(b. 1509; d. 1590)

Born of Aretine stock about 1509, Leoni was an established artist in 1537, when he was engaged at Padua on a medal of Bembo. At this time he was in touch with both Aretino and Titian, of whom he prepared medals in this same year. At the end of 1537 he moved to Rome, where from 1538 till 1540 he was engraver at the papal mint. Condemned to the galleys in 1540 for his part in a conspiracy against the papal jeweller, Pellegrino di Leuti, he was freed in the spring of 1541 through the agency of Andrea Doria, of whom and of his nephew Giannettino Doria he prepared two medals and an allegorical plaque. From 1542 till 1545 and from 1550 till 1589 he was master of the imperial mint in Milan. In 1546 Leoni proposed that he should execute a monument to Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto. At the end of 1548 he left Milan for Brussels,

returning late in the following year. This was followed by further visits to the imperial court at Augsburg (1551) and Brussels (1556), which yielded a number of Leoni's best-known sculptures, the Charles V restraining Fury in Madrid (Fig. 141) (commissioned 1549, figure of Emperor cast 1551, figure of Fury cast 1553, completed by Pompeo Leoni in Spain 1564), a marble statue of Charles V also in Madrid (finished by Pompeo Leoni in Spain before 1582), and bronze statues of Philip II (cast 1553), Isabella of Portugal (cast 1555) and Mary of Hungary (cast 1553) also in Madrid (see Plate 106 below). For the high altar of the Escorial Leoni, in collaboration with his son Pompeo, made a total of twenty-seven statues (despatched to Spain 1582). In addition Leoni executed a number of reliefs and busts of members of the Habsburg family, now in Madrid and Vienna.

In North Italy his principal achievements are the commemorative statue of Vincenzo Gonzaga for Sabbioneta (now on the tomb of Vincenzo Gonzaga in the Incoronata), the statue of Ferrante Gonzaga at Guastalla (Fig. 142) (commissioned 1557, cast 1564, exhibited 1594), the Medici monument in Milan Cathedral (see Plate 103 below), and the decoration of the Casa degli Omenoni in Milan (see Plate 104 below). Leoni died on 22 July 1590.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The standard monograph on Leone Leoni is that by Plon (*Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni*, Paris, 1887). The only available analysis of Leoni's sculptural style is provided by Venturi (X-iii, pp. 399-465). For the small bronzes ascribed to Leoni see a generally unconvincing article by Planiscig ('Bronzi minori di Leone Leoni', in *Dedalo*, vii, 1926-7, pp. 544-67).

*Plate 103: MONUMENT OF GIAN GIACOMO DE' MEDICI, MARQUESS OF MARIGNANO  
Duomo, Milan*

Gian Giacomo de' Medici, Marquess of Marignano, died on 5 October 1555. In 1559 his brother, Gian Angelo de' Medici, Bishop of Ragusa, was elected Pope as Pope Pius IV, and on 12 September 1560 a contract was signed between Cardinal Morone and Gabriele Serbellone, as the Pope's representatives, and Leone Leoni, under which the latter undertook to erect the monument of Gian Giacomo de' Medici (Fig. 69) in the Medici Chapel in the right transept of Milan Cathedral. This contract (original text in Casati, *Ricerche intorno a Leone Leoni di Arezzo*, Milan, 1884, pp. 56-62, French paraphrase in Plon, pp. 304-6) bound Leoni to complete the monument in a period of two and a half years for the sum of 7,800 scudi. Two deputies, Gian Giacomo Rainoldo and Alessandro Olocato, were appointed to ensure that the tomb as executed followed the model approved by the Pope. The contract provided for sixteen pieces of bronze sculpture, of which all but four remain on the monument; these comprise the standing figure of Gian Giacomo de' Medici in the centre, seated figures of Military Virtue (*left*) and Peace (*right*) at the sides, two swags above them and two reliefs of Dawn and Evening above the swags, two standing figures of Fame (*left*) and Prudence (*right*) in the upper section at the sides, two bronze candlesticks, and a central relief of the Adoration of the Magi. The missing elements are four consoles ('zampe') designed to support the marble sarcophagus in the now vacant area above the standing figure (see below). The contract refers to the four columns of black marble veined with white on the front of the monument, which were despatched by the Pope from Rome for use in the tomb, and to two red marble columns at the sides which were supplied from the Pope's palace in Milan. The sarcophagus, which was to be made of the same marble as the lateral columns, was either not completed or was removed soon after the completion of the monument as a result of the decision of the Council of Trent (1565) that burial should be effected beneath the pavement of churches and not in sarcophagi forming part of a sepulchral monument. According to

Giussano (*Vita di San Carlo Borromeo*, Rome, 1610, p. 91), St. Charles Borromeo was responsible for removing the sarcophagus from the Medici monument: 'Per lo che fece prima in esecuzione al Concilio di Trento, levar tutti quei depositi e vani trofei: e se bene sono permessi i sepolcri di pietra, overo di metallo, volle nondimeno che fosse levata l'arca o sia deposito di bronzo del Marchese di Melegnano, suo zio, fratello di Pio IV, e ciò per dar buon esempio in questa parte' (For this reason, in execution of the edict of the Council of Trent, he first ordered that all those tombs and vain trophies should be removed. And although stone and metal tombs are permitted, he was anxious none the less that the bronze sarcophagus of the Marquess of Melegnano, his uncle, the brother of Pius IV, should be removed, in order to give a good example in this respect). An interim payment was made to Leoni in January 1563, and the tomb was finished later in this year, the concluding payment of 3,200 scudi (for which see Beltrami, 'Il monumento funerario di G. Giacomo Medici nel Duomo di Milano', in *Rassegna d'Arte*, iv, 1904, pp. 1-4) being made on 10 March 1564.

Vasari, in his life of Michelangelo states that Michelangelo was responsible for the design of the Medici monument: 'Particolamente se ne servì nel fare un disegno per la sepoltura del marchese Marignano suo fratello, la quale fu allodata da Sua Santità per porsi nel duomo di Milano al cavalier Lione Lioni, aretino, scultore eccellentissimo, molto amico di Michelagnolo, che a suo luogo si dirà della forma di questa sepoltura' (In particular he made use of him to prepare a design for the tomb of the Marquess of Marignano his brother. This was destined by His Holiness for the Duomo in Milan, and its execution was allotted to Leone Leoni of Arezzo, a most excellent sculptor and a great friend of Michelangelo. The form of this tomb will be described in the proper place). In the life of Leoni Vasari also credits the design of the monument to Michelangelo. Malespini (Novella lxxxv, in *Dugento Novelle*, Venice, 1609) prints a variant of this story, according to which the commission for the monument was offered to, and refused by, Michelangelo, and was then, on Michelangelo's suggestion, transferred to Leone Leoni. A letter from Leoni to Michelangelo of 26 August 1562 (Frey, *Sammlung ausgewählter Briefe an Michelagniolo Buonarroti*, Berlin, 1899, p. 389) contains a reference to the monument couched in terms suggesting that Michelangelo was directly interested in its progress: 'Non uoglio neanche con questa occasione mancar di dirli, come io ho posta l'opera mia (con tutte le aduersita) piu di meza in opera nel duomo et al dispetto dei manti Esperi et mar' fortunosi et con gran sodisfatione di Sua Santita per la relatione dei deputati qui; et di piu ho tanto menato le mani questa state per questi buontempi, che ho tutte le figure che mi restano di fondere appresso ale fornaci, facendo conto il primo di settembre, a Dio piacendo, far il restante. Io credo di farmi honore, percio che non ho guardato ad auaritia, ma ho ampliato ogni cosa' (I do not want this occasion to pass without telling you, that, against all adversity, my work in the Opera del Duomo is more than half complete, in despite of the snow and floods and to the great satisfaction of His Holiness as I am told by the deputies here. Better still, this summer, in this favourable weather, I have put my hands to such good use that

I have at the foundry all the figures which remain to be cast, and God willing I count on doing the rest by the first of September. I believe the work will do me honour, because I have not economised in any way, and everything has been amplified. The majority of writers on Michelangelo deny his responsibility for the Medici monument or (Tolnay) regard the monument as a reflection of his style. The case in favour of the view that the architecture of the monument goes back to a design by Michelangelo is well argued by Thode (*Michelangelo, Kritische Untersuchungen*, ii, Berlin, 1908, pp. 239-41), and is restated by A. Schiavo (*Michelangelo architetto*, Rome, 1949, n. to Pl. 22; *La vita e le opere architettoniche di Michelangelo*, Rome, 1953, pp. 97-101).

Plates 104, 105: CASA DEGLI OMENONI  
Via Omenoni, Milan

In or prior to 1565 Leoni was granted a house in Via Moroni for his lifetime by the Senate of Milan. In a letter to the Senate of 24 July 1565 he complains of the hazardous condition of the house, and begs that it should be repaired before the cost becomes prohibitive. After this time it was rebuilt in the form it has today, with an entrance flanked by half-length male supporting figures, a façade punctuated at each side by three bearded supporting figures in three-quarter length, and, above the central window, a relief of a satyr devoured by two lions. In the frieze are reliefs of lions and eagles. In the inner courtyard the columns are surmounted on the left side by a frieze containing ten reliefs with the attributes of sculpture, goldsmith's work, architecture, music, and, among other subjects, a lion revolving the wheel of Fortune. The two reliefs on the extreme right of the frieze appear to have been renewed. Two bronze lion masks from the original decoration also survive; one of these is built into a modern pool in the centre of the courtyard. The identity of the three-quarter length prisoners on the façade is indicated by inscriptions reading (*left to right*) SVEVVS, QVADVS, ADIABENVVS, PARTHVS, SARMATVS, MARCO-MANVS. The lion was adopted by Leoni as a personal emblem, and the satyr attacked by lions appears, as on the Guastalla monument, to represent the defeat of Envy or Vice. The barbarian prisoners on the façade seem to have been related to the presence, in the courtyard, of a cast of the Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio. The house is described by Vasari in the following terms: 'Il quale Lione, per mostrare la grandezza del suo animo, il bello ingegno che ha avuto dalla natura, ed il favore della fortuna, ha con molta spesa condotto di bellissima architettura un casotto nella contrada de' Moroni, pieno in modo di capricciose invenzioni, che non n'è forse un altro simile in tutto Milano. Nel partimento della facciata sono sopra a pilastri sei prigionieri di braccia sei l'uno, tutti di pietra viva; e fra essi, in alcune nicchie fatte a imitazione degli antichi, con terminetti, finestre, e cornici tutte varie da quel che s'usa, e molto graziose; a tutte le parti di sotto corrispondono con bell'ordine a quelle di sopra; le fregiature sono tutte di vari strumenti dell'arte del disegno. Dalla porta principale, mediante un andito, si entra in un cortile, dove nel mezzo sopra quattro colonne è il

cavallo con la statua di Marco Aurelio, formato di gesso da quel proprio che è in Campidoglio. Dalla quale statua ha voluto che quella sua casa sia dedicata a Marco Aurelio; e, quanto ai prigionieri, quel suo capriccio da diversi è diversamente interpretato. Oltre al qual cavallo, come in altro luogo s'è detto, ha in quella sua bella e comodissima abitazione formate di gesso quant' opere lodate di scultura o di getto ha potuto avere, o moderne o antiche' (To prove the greatness of his spirit, the beauty of his natural talent, and the favours which fortune had poured on him, Leoni has, at great expense and with most beautiful architectural invention, built for himself a house in the contrada de' Moroni. This is full of capricious fancies, and there is perhaps no other similar house in the whole of Milan. On the façade above pilasters are six prisoners each six braccia in height made of stone, and between them are niches made in imitation of the antique, with terms, windows and cornices all different from those commonly found and very pleasing. These lower parts are admirably adjusted to those above, and the friezes are decorated with the various implements of the art of design. Through a passage leading from the main doorway one enters a courtyard, where in the centre, on four columns, is the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, moulded in gesso from the original on the Campidoglio. By this statue Leoni has signified that his house is dedicated to Marcus Aurelius. As for the prisoners, this fancy had been interpreted by different people in different ways. Beside the horse, as has been said elsewhere, he has in this beautiful and commodious dwelling gesso casts of as many carvings and bronze castings, both ancient and modern, as he has been able to procure).

Plate 106: MARY OF HUNGARY  
Prado, Madrid

Leoni's statue of Mary of Hungary (1505-58) is inscribed on the socle: LEO. P. POMPE. F. ARET. F. 1564. Round the base run the words: MARIA. AVSTRIA. REGINA. LVDOVICI. VNGARIAE. REGIS. The statue is mentioned in a letter from Ferrante Gonzaga to the Emperor Charles V on 28 December 1553: 'Ho più uolte voluto scriuere a la M. V. de l'opere di scoltura fatte da Leone Aretino, ma per le sue occupazioni de la guerra più graui mi son ritenuto infin ad hora; et non è stato se non bene il retardare questo officio insin a qui, perciocche egli ha fatto in questo più di tempo più opere. . . . Se mal non mi ricorda sono quattro anni che egli cominciò a lavorare. In questo tempo ha fatte et fondate quattro statue di metallo, et le tre di esse di altezza naturale, l'una è di V. M. la quale et per le attitudini, et per lo artificio grande che ui è, è tenuta per cosa singolare. A piedi di questa giace l'altra statua fatta per lo Furore. . . . La terza statua è del Principe mio Sre già rinettata; sopra essa sono molti uaghi abbigliamenti; et con molto giudicio accomodati; et è cosa rara. La quarta è de la Serma Reina Maria fatta insieme con la precedente a sua richiesta et questa non mi pare punto inferiore a le altre' (I have often wanted to write to Your Majesty about the works of sculpture done by Leone of Arezzo, but I have delayed doing so till now because of your more serious occupations in war; and postponing this duty

until now has been for the good, because in this greater length of time he has done a greater number of works. . . . If I do not mistake, it is now four years since he began working. In this time he has made and cast four statues of metal, three of them life-size; and one of them is of Your Majesty and is held a marvellous piece, both for its demeanour and its skill. At its feet lies the second statue, representing Fury. . . . The third statue is of My Lord the Prince, and it has already been polished; there are many charming decorations above it, set out with great judgement, and it is a thing of rare quality. The fourth is of the Most Serene Queen Mary, done together with the preceding one at her request, and it seems to me in no way less good than the others) (for full text see Plon, pp. 368-9). A letter of Leoni to Ferrante Gonzaga of 10 November 1553 seems to

imply that the statue was not yet cast at that time. On 14 August 1555 Leoni outlined to Granvella a project for shipping to Flanders 'sei pezzi, senza le due statue de la S<sup>ma</sup> Reina che intenderei parimente di portare'. The despatch of the statues seems to have been deferred as the result of a letter of 12 October 1555, but on 27 December 1555 Leoni was instructed by Granvella to proceed to Flanders with his statues as rapidly as possible. Leoni left Milan on or after 11 February 1556, and the statue of Mary of Hungary seems to have been transported to Brussels at this time. It was completed by Pompeo Leoni in Madrid. With the statue of Philip II referred to above, it subsequently decorated the façade of a house in the garden of San Pablo de Buen Retiro, both figures flanking the group of Charles V triumphant over Discord now in the Prado, Madrid.

## POMPEO LEONI

(b. ca. 1533; d. 1608)

Born ca. 1533 and trained by his father Leone Leoni, Pompeo Leoni was employed at Innsbruck in 1551 by Granvelle. He visited Brussels with his father in 1556, later accompanying Leoni's sculptures to Spain. Arriving shortly after the abdication of the Emperor Charles V, he was taken into the service of the regent, Juana of Austria, and was employed on the completion of his father's sculptures, some of which are inscribed jointly as the work of the two artists. From the documents it transpires that the bronze sculptures lacked much of their detail - a Spanish silversmith, Miguel Mendez, was, for example, employed on the dress of the statue of Isabella of Portugal - and that the marble sculptures were blocked out and in part carved at Genoa. A marble statue of Isabella of Portugal in the Prado, Madrid, is signed by Pompeo Leoni alone and dated 1572. After a short period of imprisonment at the hands of the Inquisition, Pompeo Leoni settled in Madrid, where he played an important part in the decorations for the marriage of Philip II and Anne of Austria (1570), and carved the kneeling figure of Juana of Austria for her monument in the Descalzas Reales, Madrid (1574), the Valdes monument at Salas (commissioned 1576), and the tomb of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa at Martin Munoz de las Posadas (commissioned 1577). In 1579 he received a contract for the high altar of the Escorial, returning to Milan in 1582 to execute the sculptures for it jointly with his father. In 1589 he returned to Spain to complete the Escorial altar (1591), and thereafter was engaged on the monumental groups of Charles V and Philip II and their families in the Escorial (see Plate 107 below). Pompeo Leoni died on 13 October 1608.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** As for Leone Leoni. A booklet by B. G. Proske (*Pompeo Leoni: work in marble and alabaster in relation to Spanish sculpture*, New York, 1956) gives a useful analysis of Pompeo Leoni's career in Spain, and distinguishes between his style and that of his father.

*Plate 107: MONUMENTS OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V AND KING PHILIP II OF SPAIN*  
Escorial

After the completion of the sculptures for the high altar of the Escorial (1591), Pompeo Leoni was entrusted by Philip II with the bronze figures destined for the monuments of Charles V and Philip II to left and right of the Capilla Mayor of the church. The commission is first mentioned in the future tense in a letter of Pompeo Leoni to Ferrante II Gonzaga, Duke of Guastalla, of 2 February 1591, where it is also stated that the King wished the work to be undertaken in Madrid so that he and his son might watch its progress. The two projected groups comprised (*left*) Charles V kneeling at a prie-dieu with his wife, the Empress Isabella, and, behind, his sisters, Eleanora of France and Mary of Hungary, and his daughter, Mary, wife of the Emperor Maximilian, and (*right*) Philip II kneeling at a prie-dieu with his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, and, behind, Isabella of Valois and Mary of Portugal, respectively third and first wives of King Philip II, and his son, Don Carlos. The progress of the work can be established from a contract (for the Spanish text of which see Plon, pp. 419-20) of 23 April 1597, which describes the five figures for the tomb of Charles V as already cast and in course of retouching, and obliges the sculptor to deliver the prie-dieu and the five figures for the tomb of Philip II by the end of June of the following year. The cloak for the figure of Philip II was to be delivered by May 1597, so that the necessary gems could be added to it. When the figures were complete, they were to be set in position by Pompeo Leoni. If the work were accelerated, the artist would receive an additional sum of two hundred ducats for each month saved. The figures were completed and set in place in May 1598, shortly before the death of Philip II. All sources observe that the imperial mantle of Charles V and

the royal mantle of Philip II (like the armour of Leone Leoni's statue of Charles V triumphant over Discord in the Prado) could be removed. Among the artists employed in a specialised capacity on the two tombs may be noted the Spaniard Martin Pardo, who was responsible for gilding the bronze figures and shields, Jacopo da Trezzo the Younger, who, with Giovan Paolo Cambiagio, undertook the incrustation of the mantle of Philip II and the shield above this tomb, Giulio Miseroni, who pre-

pared the imperial shield, Milano Vimercado and Baldassare Mariano, who worked on the prie-dieu and figures for the tomb of Philip II, and Leoni's son, Miguel. The two tombs represent a synthesis of the kneeling figures which occur in many earlier Spanish tombs (e.g. the statues of Don Alonso de Castille at Miraflores and of Don Juan de Padilla at Frex del Val) and the style of bronze portraiture evolved in Milan by Leone Leoni.

## JACOPO SANSOVINO

(b. 1486; d. 1570)

See p. 51.

### Plates 108, 109: LOGGETTA Piazza San Marco, Venice

In 1489 the Loggetta at the base of the Campanile facing the entrance to the Ducal Palace (which was used as a ridotto by the patricians of Venice) was damaged by a thunderbolt. Temporary repairs were effected, but in 1511 it was again damaged, on this occasion by an earthquake. Finally, in August 1537 it was once more damaged by a thunderbolt, and later in the same year the construction of a new Loggia was entrusted by the Signoria to Sansovino. The Loggia (for which see G. Lorenzetti, 'La Loggetta al Campanile di S. Marco: notizie storico-artistiche,' in *L'Arte*, xiii, 1910, pp. 108-33) is mentioned on 20 November 1537 in a letter from Aretino to Sansovino: 'che bel vedere farà l'edificio di marmo e di pietre miste ricco di gran colonne che dee murarsi appresso la detta (Libreria)! e gli havrà la forma composta di tutte le bellezze dell'architettura servendo per loggia, nella quale spasseggeranno i personaggi di cotanta nobiltade' (What a fine sight the building to be constructed opposite the Libreria will be, with its marble and variegated stone, enriched with great columns! Its form will be a blend of all the beauties of architecture, and it will serve as a loggia for people of proper nobility to stroll in). Work on the construction of the Loggia was begun at the end of 1537, and by January 1539 the structure was far enough advanced for the introduction of the figurated reliefs. At the end of 1540 the Loggia (Fig. 101) was complete. Its principal sculptural decoration, the four bronze figures in the niches of the façade, are mentioned for the first time in February 1540, and were completed by 10 February 1545. A terracotta group of the Virgin and Child with the young St. John, now in the Palazzo Ducale but previously in a niche in the interior of the Loggia for which it was destined by Sansovino, was put in position before 20 March 1565. The original form of the Loggetta is represented in an engraving by Giacomo Franco (Fig. 102), showing the façade with three open arches, that in the centre approached by a flight of five steps, and those at the sides closed by marble balustrades.

Between 1653 and 1663 an extensive restoration of the Loggetta was carried out, perhaps under the supervision of Longhena, the most important feature of which was the addition of a terrace in front closed by a balustrade of red marble columns; the balustrades barring access to the lateral archways were removed at this time. This phase in the history of the Loggetta is illustrated in an engraving by Carlevaris. In the eighteenth century further restorations became necessary, and in 1732 it was decided to close the entrance to the terrace ('chiudere l'ingresso della Loggetta con una balaustrata'). The contract for this was awarded on 16 March 1733 to Antonio Gai, who completed the present bronze gate by 28 August 1735. A report on the condition of the fabric was prepared in 1749 by Giorgio Massari, which recommended, among other points, that the upper part of the Loggetta, which had hitherto terminated at the outer edge of the lateral arches beneath, should be extended to cover the whole length of the lower part of Sansovino's structure. On 14 September 1749 Massari's proposals were agreed to, and the additional reliefs by Gai to left and right of the façade and on the ends of the Loggetta were completed in the following year. The original sculptural decoration of the Loggetta comprises: (i) four bronze statuettes in the niches of the façade representing (*left to right*) Pallas, Apollo, Mercury and Peace; (ii) four small reliefs above the niches; (iii) four small reliefs below the niches representing (*left to right*) two scenes from the legend of Venus alluding respectively to the Dardanelles and Cyprus (Selvatico), the Fall of Helle and Thetis succouring Leander; (iv) a number of reliefs of marine deities on the bases of the columns; (v) six Victory figures in the spandrels of the arches; and (vi) three large oblong reliefs above representing (*left to right*) Jupiter on the Island of Candia, Venus with two River Gods, and Venus on the Island of Cyprus, separated by two reliefs with putti and trophies. Vasari mentions three pupils of Jacopo Sansovino as working on the sculptures of the Loggetta; these are Girolamo Lombardo, Tiziano Minio and Danese Cattaneo. Of the sculptures enumerated above (ii) are given by Lorenzetti to Girolamo Lombardo, (iii) to Tiziano Minio, (iv) distributed between these two artists, and (vi) ascribed to Tiziano Minio (*left and centre relief*) and Danese Cattaneo (*right relief*). These

attributions are correct, save that the central upper relief is a substantially autograph work by Sansovino.

An account of the imagery of the Loggetta is given by Francesco Sansovino: 'A pie del campanile dirimpetto alla porta di Palazzo è situata la Loggetta antica per instituto, & rouinata del 1489. per la furia d'vna saetta, la quale percotendo la cima del campanile mandò tanta materia a terra, che distrusse quasi ogni cosa. Rifatta adunque con l'architettura del Sansouino bene ordinata & intesa di lauoro Corinthio, ha nella faccia sua ornamenti di molto artificio con significati esquisiti. Percioche nelle nicchie che sono a punto quattro, vi sono quattro statue di bronzo di mano del detto Sansouino. L'vna figurata per Pallade, l'altra per Apollo, la terza per Mercurio, & la quarta per la Pace. Diceua l'auttore di esse statue, quando rendeua ragione della fattura & del ritrouato loro, che la Città di Venetia, ha di gran lunga auanzato tutte l'altre Rep. con la diuturnità del tempo, col mezzo del suo maraviglioso gouerno, & essendo nel suo primo stato. Questo mantenimento (diceua egli) non può dirsi che sia proceduto da altro effetto, che da vna somma sapienza de suoi Senatori, concosia che havendole dato buon fondamento con la religione & con la giustitia, è durata e durerà lungamente. Hauendo dunque gli antichi figurata Pallade per la sapientia, ho voluto (diceua egli) che questa figura sia Pallade armata, & in atto pronto, & viuente, perche la sapientia di questi Padri, nelle cose di Stato è singolare & senza pari alcuno. Et fauellando poi della statua del Mercurio soggiugneua. Et perche tutte le cose prudentemente pensate & disposte, hanno bisogno d'essere espresse con eloquenza, percioche le cose dette con facondia, hanno molto più forza ne gli animi di coloro che ascoltano, che quelle che si espongono senza eloquenza, & in questa Rep. la eloquenza ha sempre hauuto gran luogo, & gli huomini eloquenti vi sono stati in numero grande & in sommo grado di riputatione: ho voluto figurar Mercurio, come significatio delle lettere & della eloquenza. Quest'altro ch'è Apollo, esprime, che si come Apollo significa il Sole, & il Sole è veramente vn solo & non piu, & però si chiama Sole, così questa Rep. per constitutioni di leggi, per vnione, & per incorrotta libertà è vna sola nel mondo senza piu, regolata con giustitia & con sapientia. Oltre a ciò si sa per ognuno, che questa natione si diletta per ordinario della musica, & però Apollo è figurato per la musica. Ma perche dall'vnione de i Magistrati che sono congiunti insieme con temperamento indicibile, esce inusitata harmonia, la qual perpetua questo ammirando gouerno, però fu fabricato l'Apollo. L'vltima statua è la Pace. quella pace tanto amata da questa Rep. per la quale è cresciuta à tanta grandezza, & la quale la constituisce Metropoli di tutta Italia, per i negotij da terra & da mare. quella pace dico, che il Signor diede al Protettor di Venetia, San Marco, dicendoli, "Pax tibi Marce Euangelista meus." La quale, dalla religione, della giustitia, & dall'osseranza delle leggi, prouiene in quella maniera che esce il concetto da vna ben concorde harmonia, così diceua egli. Ne i tre quadri di basso rilievo posti di sopra alle predette quattro figure si contiene il dominio & la Signoria di terra ferma & di mare. Concosia che nel quadro di mezzo siede vna Venetia in forma di Giustitia, sotto alla quale sono distesi i fiumi che versano acqua, & questi rappresentano le città di terra. Nell'altro quadro

dalla parte di mare è scolpita Venere significativa del Regno di Cipro, come quella che la Dea & Regina di quel Regno. Dall'altro lato è vn Gioue che fu Rè di Candia, la cui sepoltura, come afferma Lattantio Firmiano, stette lungamente in quell' Isola, & appresso vi è il Laberinto, dove habitaua il Minotauro. & accioche si conosca che la figura sia Gioue, vi è vna Aquila in aria che gli porge la Verga reale, & tutte queste cose sono espressiue dell' Isola di Candia. In faccia della porta maestra cioè nella Loggia, è collocata vna nichia sopra il seggio dei Procuratori, nella quale è vna Imagine di Nostra Donna con San Giovanni Battista bambino di tutto tondo, tenuta in molto pregio da gli intendenti, & fu di mano d'esso Sansouino. Seruia la predetta Loggia ne gli anni andati per ridotto de nobili, i quali ne tempi così di verno, come di state, vi passauano il tempo in ragionamenti. Ma cessato quell'vso, stà serrata per la maggior parte, fuori che ne giorni che si fa gran Consiglio. Percioche allora i Procuratori (toccando la volta a vicenda ad ogni Procuratia) vi stanno alla guardia, sino che i nobili escono di Consiglio' (The Loggetta stands at the foot of the campanile, opposite the gate of the Ducal Palace, and is of ancient origin; it was destroyed in 1489 by the violence of a thunderbolt, which struck through the top of the campanile and brought down so much masonry, that it ruined almost everything. It was rebuilt on Sansovino's well-arranged and clever design in the Corinthian order, and it has on its façade decorations of great skill and recondite meaning. For there are four bronze statues from Sansovino's hand in the four niches: the first represents Pallas, the second Apollo, the third Mercury, and the fourth Peace. The author of these statues, explaining their making and invention, said that the city of Venice has by far surpassed all other republics in length of time, by means of its admirable government, and by being still in its first condition. 'This continuity,' he said, 'can only be said to have come from one cause, namely its Senators' unsurpassed wisdom; because they have given it a good foundation in religion and justice, it has lasted and will last a long time. Since the ancients represented Pallas as Wisdom, I decided that this figure should be Pallas, armed and in an alert and lively attitude, because the wisdom of these elders of ours in public affairs is unique and without rival.' Speaking next of the statue of Mercury, he went on: 'Since everything thought and worked out needs to be expressed eloquently, because things said with eloquence have far more effect on the minds of the hearers than those expounded without it; and since eloquence has always had an important place in this Republic, eloquent men being many here and of very great repute, I decided to portray Mercury to stand for letters and eloquence. This next figure, Apollo, signifies that, just as Apollo stands for the Sun, and the Sun (Sole) is truly single (solo), for this reason being called Sole, so this Republic is unique in the world, through its constitution, unity and complete liberty, governed with justice and wisdom. And the Apollo was made because a rare harmony, making this admirable government secure, issues from the unity of the magistrates, joined together as they are in inexpressible concord. The last statue is Peace, that Peace so loved by this Republic and through which it has grown so great and become the business Metropolis by land and sea for the whole of Italy. And it is, I say, that

Peace which Our Lord gave to St. Mark, the patron of Venice, when he said to him: "Peace to you, Mark, my Evangelist." And it so springs from religion and the observance of the laws, that a general unanimity issues from the concordant harmony.' In the three panels in low-relief above these four figures are the dominion and seigniory over the terra ferma and the sea. For a figure of Venice in the shape of Justice sits in the central panel, and beneath her recline river-gods pouring water, representing the cities of the terra ferma. In the second panel, representing the sea, Venus has been carved to stand for the Kingdom of Cyprus, for she was Goddess and Queen of that Kingdom. On the other side is a Jupiter, King of Crete, whose tomb, according to Lactantius Firmianus, was long on that island, and the labyrinth in which the Minotaur lived is nearby; and so that one may recognise the figure as Jupiter, there is an eagle in the air, holding a sceptre out to him, and all these things represent the island of Crete. There is a niche inside the Loggetta, on the wall of the main door above the seat of the Procuratori, and in it is a figure of Our Lady with St. John the Baptist as a child, done in the round; it is held in high esteem by the knowledgeable and it too is by Sansovino. The loggia served for many years as a ridotto for the nobles, who both in winter and summer spent the time in conversation there. But since this practice ceased, it has been for the most part shut up, except on days when there is a Gran Consiglio, when the Procuratori stand on guard there, each Procuratoria in turn, till the nobles leave the Consiglio).

*Plate 110: SACRISTY DOOR  
St. Mark's, Venice*

The bronze door designed by Sansovino for the entrance to the sacristy of St. Mark's is concave, and is planned in two registers. In the upper register is a relief of the Resurrection, flanked by two Evangelists (*left* St. John the Evangelist, *right* St. Matthew) in niches, with their symbols beneath and two playing putti above. In the lower register is a relief of the Entombment with (*left*) St. Mark and (*right*) St. Luke. Across the top and bottom of the door and between the two narrative reliefs run three horizontal strips containing in the centre a reclining Prophet flanked by pairs of playing children, and at the sides protruding male heads.

The account of the door by Francesco Sansovino reads as follows: 'Dalla sinistra s'entra nella Sagrestia, la cui porta di bronzo scolpita di basso rilievo dal predetto Sansouino, contiene la morte, & la resurrezione di Christo, con i Vangeli & i Profeti su cantonali, opera di venti anni quanto a fattura, & di valore infinito quanto a prezzo, & degnissima d'ogni lode quanto a Scoltura. nella quale per la sua molta bellezza, Federigo Contarini Procurator della Chiesa, ui fece, come in cosa nobiliss. & per douere essere eterna, intagliare queste parole.

Deo D. Marco Federicus Cont. D. Marci Proc. Sancto  
cius Aerario Praefectus, erigi curauit.

& piu sotto vi si legge.

Opus Iacobi Sansouini.

Nella quale opera si dee notare, oltra allo artificio delle figure

che vi sono, le prospettive dei paesi di basso rilievo, fatte à sembianza di pittura. & che nelle teste infuori, vi sono i ritratti d'esso Iacomo, di Titiano Pittore, & di Pietro Aretino, che furono strettissimi amici insieme nel tempo loro' (On the left one enters the sacristy, whose bronze door in low relief by the aforesaid Sansovino contains the death and resurrection of Christ, with the Evangelists and Prophets at the corners. This work took twenty years to make, and is of infinite value as to price, and worthy of every praise as sculpture. On account of its great beauty Federigo Contarini, the procurator of the church, ordered that as a most noble thing which would endure for ever it should be inscribed with the words:

Deo D. Marco Federicus Cont. D. Marci Proc. Sancto  
cius Aerario Praefectus, erigi curavit.

Beneath is the inscription:

Opus Iacobi Sansouini.

In this work should be noticed, beside the skill of the figures, the perspectives of the landscapes in low relief, depicted as though in painting, and the fact that the heads contain portraits of Jacopo himself, Titian the painter and Pietro Aretino, who were all very close friends in their time). The door was commissioned in 1546 by the Procurators of St. Mark's, on the basis of a wax model prepared before this time, probably in the preceding year. A number of payments of 9 February 1546 refer to the making of a wooden door for the Sacristy, to the completion of the wax model by Sansovino's pupil, Tommaso Lombardo, to the purchase of gesso in connection with the moulding of the door, and to the preparation of gesso casts of the narrative scenes, single figures, putti and heads. A payment of May 1546 'a Alessandro (Vittoria) et a Antonio scultori per havermi aiutato a nettare le ditte historie et figure di cera' seems to represent the final stage of work on the model. The model was cast at some time between this date and 9 August 1553 when a payment was made to Agostino Zotto of Padua for work on the bronze cast ('Io Aug. scultor da Padua ha ricevuto adi sop. da M. Jao. Sansovino duc. vinti a ben conto de buttare l'historie e figure della porta della sagrestia di S. Marco'). Further payments to Agostino Zotto in connection with the door occurred on 22 January 1555, 22 May 1555, and 26 May 1556, with a concluding payment on 4 February 1563. In November 1569 the door was fully assembled, and on 4 November 1572 it was set in place.

*Plate 111: TRIBUNE RELIEFS  
St. Mark's, Venice*

The two tribunes or singing galleries to right and left of the choir of St. Mark's were designed by Sansovino, and incorporate eight bronze reliefs, three narrative reliefs on the face of each gallery and, on the ends of the galleries facing the body of the church, two upright reliefs with seated figures of St. Mark. The narrative reliefs on the two tribunes represent: (*right*) St. Mark baptising Amianus and his companions in Alexandria, St. Mark dragged through the streets as stones shower upon the unbelievers, St. Mark curing a woman possessed of a devil;

(left) St. Mark saving from death a servant of the Lord of Provence, the servant and people praising the Saint, and the conversion of the Lord of Provence. There is some doubt as to the subject matter of the reliefs on the left tribune (for this see G. Lorenzetti, 'Jacopo Sansovino scultore: note e appunti', in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, xx, 1910, pp. 332-3). The first of the two tribunes, that on the right, was already under construction on 15 February 1537 when a payment was made 'a Thomaso scultore per haver lavorato su la nostra donna de marmo et in sul pergolo della chiesa' (for this and other documents see Weihrauch, *Studien zum bildnerischen Werke des Jacopo Sansovino*, Strassburg, 1935, pp. 90-1). Sansovino's reliefs are mentioned for the first time in a letter to the sculptor from Pietro Aretino on 20 November 1537 (*Lettere sull'arte di Pietro Aretino*, i, Milan, 1957, p. 83): 'Dove è quella mirabile Madre di Cristo, che porge la corona al protettore di questa unica patria? L'istoria del quale fate vedere di bronzo con mirabile contesto di figure, nel pergolo de la sua abitazione; onde meritate i premi e gli onori dativi da le magnificenze del serenissimo animo dei suoi riguardanti divoti' (Where is that wondrous Mother of Christ, who proffers the crown to the protector of this unique city? That protector whose history you have shown us in bronze, with a wondrous quality of figures, in the tribune of his abode. For these scenes you merit the prizes and honours that have been accorded you by the magnificences for the most serene mind of your devoted onlookers). The reliefs must have been virtually completed by this time, since the final payment for them was made on 12 December 1537 ('a mistro Jacomo Sansovino nostro protto per tanti spese nelle scolture de bronzo del pergolo fatto novamente in essa giesia in Choro cioè a mistro Zuane Campanaro et titiano per bronzo et loro fatica ducati 78, e Thomas scultor ducati 56 a lucha scultor ducati 45 a aluise et mistro francesco et Dominego ducati 36 come per poliza del ditto protto adi 10 ditto apar'). The reliefs of the left hand tribune were executed between 1541 and 1544. The course of work on these reliefs can be established in greater detail than with the earlier series. On 1 March 1541 a sum of fifty lire was provided by the Procuratori for the purchase of wax 'per far le historie del percolo rincontro a quello di coro fatto di bronzo nella chiesa di S. Marco', and on 15 September 1541 and 18 September 1541 payments were made respectively to Tommaso Lombardo and Sansovino for work on the wax reliefs. On 15 November 1542 a sum was allocated 'per libre 450 di metallo per buttar le ditte historie', and on 7 December 1542 a payment was made 'a maestro Gianni Campanaro per aver buttato 2 historie et una ributtata et un San Marco'. Sansovino was paid on 14 July 1543 'per haver lavorato a rinettar le ditte historie di bronzo'. Payments to unidentified craftsmen 'per haver lavorato a rinettar le ditte Istorie' were made on 5 November 1543 and 15 July 1544, and on 14 February 1544 a small sum was paid to Campanaro 'per haver buttato il San Marco'. These documents show conclusively that all the reliefs for the first tribune were modelled in or before 1537, and that all the reliefs for the second tribune were complete by November 1542. The reliefs are signed across the base JACOBVS SANSOVINVS FLORENTINVS FACIEBAT OR JACOBVS SANSOVINVS FLORENTINVS F.

Plate 112:  
THE MIRACLE OF THE MAIDEN CARILLA  
Sant' Antonio, Padua

The first sculptural task allotted to Sansovino after his arrival in Venice was the completion of an unfinished relief by Antonio Minelli destined for the Chapel of St. Anthony in the Santo at Padua. This relief (which conformed in size and style to the reliefs already installed in the Chapel, and represented the Miracle of the child Parrasio) had been begun by Antonio Minelli in 1512 and was still unfinished in 1528, when it was entrusted to Sansovino ('1528. Mo. Jacopo Sansovin die havere per fornire el quadro haveva comenzato el q. ser. zuan de Minelo'). In these years Minelli received two thirds of the total sum due to him for the relief, and in 1528 the relief must therefore have been roughly two thirds complete. Two payments of 25 and 100 ducats were made to Sansovino on 4 May 1532 and in 1533, and the concluding payment dates from 28 August 1534. Analysis of the payments shows that Sansovino received not only the balance of the third part of the sum agreed for the relief, but a substantial bonus, and it is likely, from these payments alone, that in addition to completing the unfinished parts of the relief he reworked a number of Minelli's figures. This hypothesis is confirmed when the relief is compared with the Reception of St. Anthony into the Franciscan Order, for which Antonio Minelli was solely responsible, and which was completed in 1512. Thus the figures on the left side of the relief are substantially Minelli's, but the head of the Saint seems to have been recut and modified by Sansovino. Also in large part by Sansovino is the man holding a net in the centre of the scene, the kneeling figure of the mother in the centre and the standing woman and child to her right. In 1536 Sansovino was awarded the contract for a second relief of the Miracle of the maiden Carilla (Fig. 114), which had originally been assigned to Tullio Lombardo, for a total sum of L. 1860 ('1536. Ms. Jacomo Sansovin scultore excellentissimo sta in Venetia die avere per fare un quadro de marmoro qual doveva fare el q. Tullio Lombardo con el miracholo de la donna anegata con el santo Antonio in aria, dandoghe nui (massari) i marmori et e obligato a meter el suo nome scholpito sotto ditto quadro; et questo per pretio di ducati tresento a L.6 s.4 per ducato; et tanto piu quanto parera al magnifico mess. Jacomo Cornaro et magn<sup>o</sup> mess. Federigo de Priuli cc., come appare per scritto fatto per mano de ser zuan de' Zaghi canceliero del magn<sup>o</sup>. mess. Jac<sup>o</sup>. Cornaro capitano de Padoa fatto adi 3 Zugno 1536, val a moneda L.1860'). No record of payments for the relief occurs before 1557, when it is known that the sculptor had received a total of L.1184 s.4. A final payment of L.1023 was made in 1562, making in all a total of L.2207 in place of the stipulated sum (for the concluding payment see R. Gallo, 'Contributi su Jacopo Sansovino', in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, i, 1957, p. 91). The sequence of work on the relief does not emerge clearly from the documents, but it can be inferred that there was considerable delay in starting it (perhaps as a result of the more pressing commission for the Loggetta), that it was rather more than half finished by 1557, and that certain parts of it (including

the male figure on the left) represent the sculptor's late style, and were carved between 1557 and 1562. The relief is inscribed along the base: IACOBVS SANSOVINVS SCVLPI. ET ARCHITEC. FLORENT. F.

*Plate 113: NEPTUNE*  
Palazzo Ducale, Venice

The colossal figures of Mars (Fig. 107) and Neptune carved by Sansovino for the staircase leading to the Ducal Palace are mentioned by Vasari at a time when they were still incomplete: 'All'entrare delle scale del palazzo di San Marco fa tuttavia di marmo in forma di due giganti bellissimi, di braccia sette l'uno, un Nettuno ed un Marte, mostrando le forze, che ha in terra ed in mare quella serenissima repubblica' (At the beginning of the stairway of the palace of St. Mark's, he has made two most beautiful marble statues in the form of giants, each seven braccia high, a Neptune and a Mars, symbolising the power of the republic by land and sea). Documents relating to the two figures assembled by P. L. Rambaldi ('La scala dei Giganti', in *Ateneo Veneto*, 1910, i-ii), show that they were commissioned on 31 July 1554 ('Ritrovandosi in questa Citta due pezi di marmoro di longhezza de piedi X circa luno, fatti qui condur per quelli che hebbero il carico di far la stantia de palazzo che habita li serenissimi Principi, con animo di far fare in quelli due figure de ziganti da esser posti per adornamento di esso palazzo, dove meglio cascheranno, et ritrovandosi in questa citta al presente D. Jacomo Sansovino'). It was agreed by the Proveditori of the Palazzo Ducale to commission the two figures from Sansovino for a sum of 250 ducats each 'le qual figure sia obligato a far che le siano belle et ben finite in termine de uno anno proximo alla piu longa' (Since there exist in this city two pieces of marble each about ten feet long, brought here for the use of those charged with the decoration of the ducal palace, with the intention of having made from them two figures of giants to be installed for the adornment of the palace, wherever they shall appear best, and since Jacopo Sansovino is at present resident in the city . . . he shall be obliged to carve these figures so that they may be beautiful and well finished, within the term of one year at the latest.) The statues were carved in a workshop in the Arsenale, and were completed by 12 January 1567 when there are records of payments for putting them in place ('spese fate per il meter suxo le do figure in cima la scala di marmoro'), and to a 'mistro Bernardo' for preparing the bases on which they were to stand, and a 'mistro Beneto' for making a metal lance for the Mars and a trident for Neptune ('una zagaja e un tridente fatti per mistro Beneto'), both of which have disappeared. The Protomagister of the Palazzo Ducale, Antonio da Ponte, was charged with the installation of the figures, which were set up temporarily in the position they have since occupied on the Scala dei Giganti. The two bases were left in the rough, and the decoration with which they are now carved was added in 1727-8. The uniform signatures on the two statues (OPVS. JACOBI. SANSOVINI. F.) were added at this time. A supplica presented to the Signoria by Francesco Sansovino in 1572, after his father's death, names six assistants who were employed on

the statues; these are Domenico da Salò, Domenico de' Bernardin, Battista del quondam Bernardin di Venezia, Antonio Gallino di Padova, Francesco detto il Toccio settignanese, and Jacomo de' Medici veneziano. The account outstanding between the Signoria and Francesco Sansovino was settled in 1582 by a payment of 400 ducats.

*Plate 114: SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST*  
S. Maria dei Frari, Venice

The marble figure of the Baptist executed by Sansovino for a holy water basin in the Frari is mentioned by Vasari: 'Sopra la pila dell'acqua santa ne' frati della Ca grande è di sua mano una statua fatta di marmo per un San Giovanni Battista, molto bella e lodatissima' (On the holy water basin in the church of the friars by the Grand Canal there is a marble statue of St. John the Baptist from his hand, a very beautiful work and greatly praised). The statue is now in the Corner Chapel, but was originally carved for the Florentine chapel (since transferred to the right transept), for which the wooden Baptist of Donatello was also carved. It is mentioned in a will drawn up by Sansovino on 10 September 1568 in which he expresses the wish to be buried in this chapel 'dove e el santo Giovanni di mia propria mano sulla pila di Giustinian' (where is the St. John by my own hand on the Giustinian basin). The work is not dated but a *terminus ante quem* is provided by Dolce's *Aretino* (1557) which contains a reference to it, and its execution has consequently been assigned to the years 1554, 1555 and 1556. Weihrauch (p. 72) brings the figure into relation with a marble statuette of the Baptist by Vittoria in S. Zaccaria (payment of 26 April 1550), and infers that the figure in the Frari must have been produced before 1550. The relationship between the figures is a matter of spirit and function rather than of motif, and it cannot be assumed that the Frari figure necessarily precedes that in S. Zaccaria.

*Plate 115: ALLEGORY OF REDEMPTION*  
St. Mark's, Venice

Designed for the Altar of the Sacrament in St. Mark's, the relief is mentioned by Francesco Sansovino ('portella di bronzo, con figure di mezzo rilievo, scolpita dal Sansovino con artificio notando'), and was completed before 1565, when a claim for payment for this and other works was submitted by the sculptor to the procurators of the church. The relief exists in a second ungilded version with a lunette in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and in a much inferior gilt version in Berlin. One or other of the reliefs in Venice and Florence must have been in existence in 1542, since on 2 September of that year the painter Lotto records a small payment 'per zetar la storia del bassorilievo de la gloria del Cristo del San Sovino et de la fede et eresia tute tonde L. 1 s. 16'. That this refers to Sansovino's composition is confirmed by the fact that in 1543 Lotto painted 'un trionpho del Salvator Yesu in atto del sacramento sparger il sangue in aria con molti anzoletti,' which is identical with a painting in

Vienna corresponding with Sansovino's reliefs. It has been argued (i) (Lorenzetti) that the tabernacle door was executed before the relief in Florence, (ii) (Planiscig) that the figure of Christ on the tabernacle door is closer to Sansovino's Florentine statues than the more mannered figure in the Bargello relief, but that the priority of one relief over the other cannot be established, (iii) (Weihrauch) that the reliefs depend from a design by Lotto, that in Florence being made prior to the relief in Venice, in which the composition is slightly curtailed. The tabernacle door is not mentioned in a document of 1546 relating to payment for the tribune reliefs, and must have been cast (Lorenzetti, Weihrauch) after this time. Berenson (*Lorenzo Lotto*, London, 1956, p. 117) assumes that the composition of the relief depends from that of Lotto's painting, and that Lotto attended to the casting of the relief. The composition at the bottom of Lotto's painting suggests, however, that it was extended from a smaller design, and is therefore likely to have been based on one of the reliefs.

Plate 116:

MONUMENT OF TOMMASO RANGONE  
S. Giuliano, Venice

The monument of Tommaso Rangone (1492-1577) is set on the façade of the church of San Giuliano (Fig. 116), which was reconstructed by Sansovino at Rangone's charge after 1553. The façade of San Giuliano is described by Francesco Sansovino in the following terms: 'Poco discosto è situato San Giuliano, luogo antico & eretto dalla famiglia Balbi in 3. navi, ma poi rifatto del tutto a persuasione & spesa in parte, di Thomaso da Rauenna Medico, sul modello del Sansovino quanto alla faccia, su la quale apparisce la memoria del detto Thomaso, con la sua statua di bronzo & con questa inscritione.

Thomas Phylologus Rauennas Physicus, aere honestis laboribus parto, aedes primum Paduae virtuti, post has Senatus permissu, pietati erigi fecit. Illas animi, has etiam corporis monumentum.

Ann. Mundi VI. MDCLIII Non. Octob.

Jesu Christi MDLIII. Urbis MCXXXIII.

(Nearby is San Giuliano, an ancient place erected by the Balbi with three naves, and then completely remodelled at the instance and in part at the expense of the doctor Tommaso da Ravenna. The façade is from a model by Sansovino, and on it appears the memorial of the aforesaid Tommaso, with his statue in bronze and the following inscription). Temanza records that 'la facciata della Chiesa di San Giuliano, eretta co' danari di Tommaso Rangone da Ravenna, fu idea del Sansovino, ma ci ebbe anche mano il Vittoria. Lo stesso Tommaso nel suo testamento, parlando della facciata predetta, ce ne fa testimonianza dicendo: laboribusque magnis, plurimoque sudore amicorum, ac principum quorundam sufragiis, Architectis illustribus Sansovino & Alexandro Victoria . . . aedificaverim. E di fatto nelle finestre del secondo ordine, e nel frontespizio, ci vedo qualche cosa, che non è del Sansovino. Nel tempo che si gettavano le fondamenta di questa facciata cadde, una notte, tutto il tetto della Chiesa. Chi avrà combinato questo accidente con quello

della pubblica Libreria avrà probabilmente avuto soggetto da farne ciancie: ma tali accidenti possono addivenire anche senza colpa degli Architetti. Questa caduta fece pensare di proposito alla rifabbrica della Chiesa, della quale si fece pure dal Sansovino il modello. Il predetto Tommaso Rangone da Ravenna ordinò nel suo testamento che fosse portato a processione dietro il suo cataletto Archetypus, vulgo modello, Ecclesiae Sancti Juliani, a fornice Sansovini, ligneus magnus. Io però son d'avviso, che nell'interior della fabbrica abbiaci avuto mano, e non poco il Vittoria' (The façade of the church of S. Giuliano, which was built at the charge of Tommaso Rangone of Ravenna, was conceived by Sansovino, but Vittoria also had a hand in it. In his will Tommaso, speaking of the aforesaid façade, provides evidence of this when he declared: laboribusque magnis, plurimoque sudore amicorum, ac principum quorundam sufragiis, Architectis illustribus Sansovino & Alexandro Victoria . . . aedificaverim. And indeed in the windows of the second register and in the architrave I see something that is not Sansovino's. One night, at the time when the foundations of this façade were being laid, the whole roof of the church collapsed. Anyone who chooses to associate this accident with that which befell the Library will have a topic for malicious gossip, but it must be remembered that such accidents can occur through no fault of the architects. The collapse of the roof gave rise to a proposal for the rebuilding of the church, for which the model was also made by Sansovino. The aforesaid Tommaso Rangone of Ravenna left instructions in his will that in his funeral procession a large wooden model of the church of S. Giuliano should be carried behind his coffin. My own impression is that Vittoria had a hand in the interior of the church, and that by no means a small one).

From material assembled by R. Gallo ('Contributi su Jacopo Sansovino,' in *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, i, 1957, pp. 96-105), it transpires that Rangone's first wish was to instal his monument on the façade of S. Geminiano in the Piazza San Marco, but that this was forbidden, on the ground that private individuals could not be exalted in so prominent a place. In 1553 a supplica was submitted to the Doge and Signoria explaining that Rangone had offered to reconstruct the ruined church of S. Giuliano and to supply it with a new façade provided that he was allowed 'mettere et eternamente stare una sua figura dal vivo, et imagine di bronzo in piedi over sedendo, come par a V. Serenita, fatta a spese sue.' The agreement for the construction of the new façade was signed on 20 September 1553. A document summarised by Lorenzetti (Vasari: *Vita di Jacopo Tatti detto il Sansovino*, Florence, 1913, pp. 121-2) shows that the wax model for the figure of Rangone on the façade was consigned by Sansovino to the bronze caster Giulio Alberghetti on 27 August 1554. Subsequent correspondence (for which see Gallo) proves that the work had not been cast by the summer of 1555, when a letter from Rangone to Alberghetti refers to damage to the wax model which had necessitated its being reworked by Sansovino. On 2 March 1556 responsibility for casting the figure was transferred from Alberghetti to two other casters, Tommaso delle Sagome and Giacomo di Conti 'iuxta la forma di tal figura fatta per ms. Alexandro da Trento'. The statue was delivered by 1 February 1557. Comparison of the statue with

Vittoria's bust of Rangone (see Plate 124 below) leaves no doubt that the head is wholly due to Sansovino. The scheme of the monument is also due to Sansovino, and is unique in its combination of firmly defined architectural forms, which find a focus in the heavy keystone of the arch above the seated figure of Rangone and in the sarcophagus beneath, and illusionism in the treatment of the interior space whereby the bronze figure of Rangone is shown seated at a table between a globe and an astrolabe. The document published by Gallo is misconstrued by Cessi (*Alessandro Vittoria Scultore I*, Trent, 1961, p. 27), who ascribes the figure to Vittoria.

*Plate 118: JUPITER*  
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

The most characteristic and important of the surviving bronze statuettes of Sansovino, the Jupiter has been associated (Planiscig) with the bronze statues on the Loggetta, but is more closely related to the St. John the Baptist in the Frari (Plate 114), and like this work appears to date from about 1550-5. A bronze of Christ carrying the Cross at Modena, in which the forms closely recall those of the Christ in the Medici tabernacle in the Museo Nazionale, Florence (Plate 115), is earlier in date.

DANESE CATTANEO  
(b. ca. 1509; d. 1573)

Born at Carrara, Cattaneo became a pupil of Jacopo Sansovino in Rome before 1527, and after the Sack followed him to Venice, where he worked on the sculptural decoration of Sansovino's Libreria di San Marco, and on the Loggetta (see Plate 108 above). He executed a fountain for the cortile of the Zecca (see Plate 119 below), was engaged with Tiziano Minio on stucco decorations in the Chapel of St. Anthony in the Santo at Padua, and for the same church executed the portrait bust of Bembo for Sanmicheli's Bembo monument (1547) and that of Alessandro Contarini (1555). The finest of his bronze portraits is the bust of Lazzaro Bonamico (d. 1552) in the Museo Civico at Bassano, formerly in S. Giovanni di Verdara at Padua. At Verona he undertook a statue of Girolamo Fracastoro for the Piazza dell'Erbe, and the Fregoso monument in S. Anastasia (see Plate 121 below), returning to Venice to execute the Loredano monument in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (see Plate 120 below). At the end of December 1572 he signed the contract for a relief of the Healing of the Youth at Lisbon for the Chapel of St. Anthony at Padua, and on his death in 1573 this was carried out by his pupil Campagna. Cattaneo was a poet as well as sculptor, and his *Dell'Amor di Marfisa* was printed in 1562.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A good short account of Cattaneo's career is given by Paoletti (in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, vi, 1912, pp. 189-191). See also Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, 1921, pp. 411-32) and Venturi (X-iii, pp. 1-35).

Plates 117, 120: THE LOREDANO MONUMENT  
SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice

The monument of Doge Leonardo Loredano (d. 1521) on the right wall of the choir of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Fig. 112) was commissioned from the architect Girolamo Grapiglia. The sculptures for the tomb were executed by Danese Cattaneo, with the assistance of Girolamo Campagna, who was responsible for the central figure of the Doge. An account of the

imagery of the monument and of the circumstances in which it was produced is given by Temanza: 'Di Verona avea Danese seco condotto un giovane chiamato Girolamo Campagna, che sotto di lui si rese molto valente. Danese era assai vecchio; onde con l'aiuto di costui tirava innanzi le sue opere, e per ciò lo teneva seco, e lo amava come figliuolo. . . . Le ultime opere, che Danese Cataneo fece in Venezia, per ciò ch'io ne credo, furono le statue pel deposito del Doge Leonardo Loredano nella Cappella maggiore de' SS. Gio: e Paolo. Questi fu quell'Eroe, che sedendo sul Trono ducale allorchè, per la lega stabilita in Cambrai fra le principali Potenze di Europa, si faceva guerra ai Veneziani, col suo consiglio, col sacrifizio dei propri figliuoli, e delle proprie sostanze, ispirò vigore, e costanza nei Senatori, onde resistere alla mole di tanti nemici, e restituire alla Patria la dignità, e l'impero. Quest' opera fu commessa da Leonardo Loredano pronipote del Doge predetto all' Architetto Girolamo Grapiglia, e volle, che fosse magnifica come alla dignità di sì ragguardevole principe si conveniva. La Cappella de' SS. Giovanni e Paolo è così vasta, che non c'è forse la più grande in questa Città. Era questa una circostanza, che impegnava l'Architetto a far cosa grandiosa e mobile. Rappresentò egli per tanto uno prospetto di tre intercolonni d'ordine composito, con piedistallo sotto, sopraornato, ed attico sopra. Le colonne sono di tutto tondo spiccate in fuori con loro pilastri di retro. Termina l'attico con frontispicio rispondente all'intercolonio di mezzo. In questo intercolonio sopra tre scaglioni, che rilievan sul piedistallo, siede la statua del Doge in manto reale, col Corno o sia Corona in capo. Sulla destra del trono v'è una statua figurata pel potere delle armi della Repubblica, sulla sinistra altra che rappresenta la Lega di Cambrai. Questa è una Donna armata; quella un Uomo vestito da guerriero alla foggia dei Romani. Nei due nicchj fra i due intercolonni laterali vi sono due altre statue; cioè l'Abbondanza alla destra, e la Pace alla sinistra, co' simboli loro. Sotto e sopra ciascheduna delle quali sonvi bassorilievi di bronzo allusivi al soggetto delle statue medesime. Queste statue maggiori del naturale sono di marmo di Carrara. Di marmo pure di Carrara, e di paragon

nero è il rimanente di questa mole, la quale a dir vero è cosa grandiosa' (Danese had brought with him from Verona a youth called Girolamo Campagna, who proved himself while working under him. Danese was extremely old, and for this reason he advanced his works with the assistance of Campagna, whom he retained in his service and loved like a son. . . . The last works that Danese Cattaneo made in Venice, to the best of my belief, were the statues for the tomb of Doge Leonardo Loredano in the choir of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. This was the hero who occupied the ducal throne at the time when, through the league entered into at Cambrai between the principal European powers, war was waged on the Venetians. The Doge, with his prudent counsel, and the sacrifice of his resources and of his own sons, inspired the Senators with vigour and constancy, which enabled them to resist the weight of so many enemies, and to restore to their fatherland its dignity and dominion. This work was commissioned by Leonardo Loredano, pronipote of the aforesaid Doge, from the architect Girolamo Grapiglia. His wish was that it should be as magnificent as the dignity of so notable a prince deserved. The choir of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is so vast, that there is not perhaps a larger in this city. This fact imposed upon the architect the obligation to making something grandiose and noble. He devised a scheme with four columns of composite order, with a plinth beneath and an attic above. The columns are fully in the round and stand forward from the pilasters behind. The attic is closed by a pediment corresponding to the area between the central columns. In this central area, on three steps rising from a plinth, is the seated statue of the Doge in his ducal robes with his cap of crown upon his head. On the right of the throne is a statue representing the power of the arms of the Republic, and on the left is another representing the League of Cambrai. The former is a woman armed, the latter a man clad in warlike dress in the manner of the Romans. In the two niches between the lateral columns are two more statues, Abundance on the right and Peace on the left, with their symbols. Above and below each of these figures are bronze basreliefs alluding to the subjects of the two statues. These statues are over life-size and are in Carrara marble. Also of Carrara marble and black paragone is the remainder of the monument, which is truly grandiose. The iconography of the monument is related to that of the Allegory of the League of Cambrai by Palma Giovane in the Palazzo Ducale. The history of the tomb (for which see A. del Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia con particolare riguardo alle loro tombe*, Venice, 1939, pp. 146-51) goes back to 1517, when a concession was obtained during the Doge's lifetime by his son Lorenzo for a tomb in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. A will made by Lorenzo Loredano in 1532 provides a sum of 1300 ducats for the erection of the tomb. The project was interrupted in 1533 by Lorenzo Loredano's death, but three years later the Loredano family made available a sum of 1500 ducats for a new high altar which would incorporate the tomb, and would be surmounted by three statues. Action on this was again deferred, and the present tomb, replanned as a wall monument, was completed in 1572. The central figure of the Doge is signed on the base *IERONIMVS CANPAG. F.*, and the two lateral figures in the central area are inscribed: *D.K.F.* The Peace is unsigned,

and the Abundance is signed in full: *DANESIVS KATANEVS*. The marble relief in the centre of the upper section appears to have been executed by Girolamo Campagna, but the four small bronze reliefs above and below the allegorical figures at the sides are autograph works by Danese Cattaneo, and are much superior in quality to the marble sculpture on the monument.

*Plate 119: FORTUNA*  
Museo Nazionale, Florence

The figure belongs to a small group of bronzes by Danese Cattaneo, which include a second figure of Fortuna in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the Negro Venus (wrongly ascribed to Vittoria) of which examples are found in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and elsewhere, and a statuette of Luna, also in Vienna, which appears to have been cast from a model for a statue of the Moon as Goddess of Silver projected for a fountain in the courtyard of the Zecca. The facture of all four bronzes is uniform, and the type of the present figure (which has been wrongly identified as a Venus Marina) is closely connected with the figure of Venus Cyprica in the marble relief carved by Cattaneo for Sansovino's Loggetta. For the imagery compare the Fortuna on a broken wheel on the reverse of the medal (1520) of Niccolò di Marco Giustinian (Hill, No. 532).

*Plate 121: THE FREGOSO ALTAR*  
S. Anastasia, Verona

The Fregoso altar, which is situated on the right side of the nave of S. Anastasia at Verona, is described in some detail by Vasari: 'Ma la maggior opera e più segnalata che abbia fatta il Danese è stata in Verona, a Sant'Anastasia, una cappella di marmi ricca e con figure grandi, al signor Ercole Fregoso, in memoria del signor Jano, già signor di Genova, e poi capitano generale de' Viniziani, al servizio de' quali morì. Questa opera è d'ordine corinto in guisa d'arco trionfale, e divisata da quattro gran colonne tonde striate con i capitelli a foglie d'oliva, che posano sopra un basamento di conveniente altezza, facendo il vano del mezzo largo una volta più che uno di quelli dalle bande; con un arco fra le colonne, sopra il quale posa in su' capitelli l'architrave e la cornice; e nel mezzo, dentro all'arco, un ornamento molto bello di pilastri con cornice e frontespizio, col campo d'una tavola di paragone nero bellissimo, dov'è la statua d'un Cristo ignudo maggior del vivo, tutta tonda e molto buona figura, la quale statua sta in atto di mostrare le sue piaghe, con un pezzo di panno rilegato ne i fianchi fra le gambe e fino in terra. Sopra gli angoli dell' arco sono segni della sua passione; e tra le due colonne, che sono dal lato destro, sta sopra un basamento una statua tutta tonda, fatta per il signor Jano Fregoso, tutta armata all' antica, salvo che mostra le braccia e le gambe nude, e tiene la man manca sopra il pomolo della spada che ha cinta, e con la destra il bastone di generale; avedon

dietro, per investitura che va dreto alle colonne, una Minerva di mezzo rilievo, che stando in aria tiene con una mano una bacchetta ducale come quella de' Dogi di Vinezia, e con l'altra una bandiera drentovi l'insegna di San Marco; e tra l'altre due colonne, nell'altra investitura, è la Virtù militare armata col cimiero in capo, con il semprevivo sopra e con l'impresa nella corazza d'uno ermellino, che sta sopra uno scoglio circondato dal fango, con lettere che dicono *Potius mori quam foedari*, e con l'insegna Fregosa; e sopra è una Vittoria, con una ghirlanda di lauro e una palma nelle mani. Sopra la colonna, architrave, fregio e cornice, è un'altro ordine di pilastri, sopra le cimase de' quali stanno due figure di marmo tonde e due trofei pur tondi e della grandezza delle altre figure. Di queste due statue una è la Fama in atto di levarsi a volo, accennando con la man dritta al cielo e con una tromba che suona: e questa ha sottili e bellissimi panni attorno, e tutto il resto ignuda; a l'altra è fatta per l'Eternità, la quale è vestita con abito più grave e sta in maestà, tenendo nella man manca un cerchio, dove ella guarda, e con la destra piglia un lembo di panno dentrovi palle che denotano vari secoli, con la sfera celeste cinta dalla serpe che con la bocca piglia la coda. Nello spazio del mezzo sopra il cornicione, che fa fare e mette in mezzo queste due parti, sono tre scaglioni, dove seggono due putti grandi e ignudi, i quali tengono un grande scudo con l'elmo sopra, drentovi l'insegna Fregosa; e sotto i detti scalini è di paragone un epitaffio di lettere grandi dorate: la quale tutta opera è veramente degna d'esser lodata, avendola il Danese condotta con molta diligenza, e dato bella proporzione e grazia a quel componimento, e fatto con gran studio ciascuna figura' (But the greatest and most notable work Danese made is at Verona, in S. Anastasia, a chapel richly decorated with marbles and with large figures, commissioned by Signor Ercole Fregoso, in memory of Signor Jano, once governor of Genoa and later captain general of the Venetians, in whose service he died. This work is of the Corinthian order in the form of a triumphal arch, and is divided by four large free-standing fluted columns with olive leaves on their capitals. These are set on a base of suitable height leaving a central aperture the width of which is half as large again as the joint width of these at the sides. Between the columns is an arch on which, above the capitals, the architrave and cornice rest. Within the arch in the centre is a most beautiful ornament with pilasters, cornice and pediment, backed with a handsome slab of black pietra di paragone, in which is an over life-size statue of the naked Christ, a most beautiful figure completely in the round, in the act of showing His wounds, with a piece of drapery tied round his hips falling between his legs to the ground. Above the angles of the arch are the symbols of the Passion, and between the two columns on the right side, on a plinth, stands a statue fully in the round, representing signor Jano Fregoso, armed in the antique style, save that the arms and legs are bare, with his left hand on the pommel of his girded sword, and in his right a general's baton. Behind him is a Minerva in half-relief, in the air, holding in one hand a ducal wand, like that of the Doges of Venice, and in the other a banner with the device of St. Mark. Between the other two columns on the opposite side is Military Virtue, armed and wearing a helmet, with evergreen above and the device of an

ermine on the breastplate, standing on a rock surrounded by mud, with an inscription which reads *Potius mori quam foedari*, and the Fregoso device. Above this figure is a representation of Victory, with a garland of laurel and a palm in her hands. Above the column, architrave, frieze and cornice is another order of pilasters, and above the moulding are two male figures and two trophies, both in the round, of the size of the other figures. One of these two statues is Fame, in the act of taking off in flight, pointing with her right hand to heaven and with a trumpet which she sounds. This figure has delicate and subtle drapery, and all the rest is naked. The other figure represents Eternity, and is clad in a sober habit and stands majestically, holding in the left hand a circle into which she looks, and with the right hand lifting a piece of drapery, on which are balls representing various centuries with the celestial sphere surrounded by a snake swallowing its tail. In the central space above the cornice dividing these two parts are three steps, on which are seated two large naked putti holding a large shield surmounted by a helmet, bearing the Fregoso device. Under the steps is an epitaph of pietra di paragone with large gold letters. The whole work is truly praiseworthy since Danese executed it with much care, gave beautiful and graceful proportions to all its parts, and devoted much study to each figure). Vasari's description is of some importance for the iconographical programme of the altar, which shows (centre) the suffering Christ, with in the spandrels above two angels holding the lance and nails and the crown of thorns and flail, (left) Jano Fregoso with, above, Minerva, (right) Military Virtue with, above, Victory, (upper left) Fame about to take off in flight, (upper right) Eternity. The figure sculpture is throughout of notably high quality. The colouristic effect of the altar depends in part upon the use of black pietra di paragone in the areas noted by Vasari, and in part on the contrast between the white marble used for the columns and the figure sculpture and the light yellowish-pink Verona marble with which it is relieved. Venturi (X-iii, p. 24) rightly observes that the architectural forms employed by Cattaneo in the Fregoso altar derive from Sanmicheli, and Planiscig suggests that Sanmicheli may have participated in the planning on the altar. The year in which the altar was commissioned cannot be established; the date of its completion is recorded in an inscription across the base of the central section: ABSOLVTVM OPVS AN. DO. M.D. L. X. V. DANESIO/CATANEO CARRARIENSI SCVLPTORE ET ARCHITECTO. According to Temanza, Marchese Almerigo Malaspina, whom Cattaneo encountered at Carrara in 1559, was instrumental first in encouraging the sculptor to publish his poem *Dell'Amor di Marfisa*, which appeared in Venice in 1562, and then in obtaining for him the commission for the Fregoso altar. Vasari's statement that the altar was erected at the instance of Ercole Fregoso is confirmed by the inscription on the central tablet at the top:

DEO. OPT. MAX.  
IANVS FREGOSIVS LIGVRVM PRINCEPS  
AC VENET. REIP. TERRESTRIVM COPIARVM OM  
NIVM PRAEF. VBI FORTISSL. DVCIS OFFICIA  
DOMI FORISQVE PRAESTISSET SAC. H.T.F.I.  
HERCVLES F. PATERNAE PIETATIS MEMOR. P.

## GIROLAMO CAMPAGNA

(b. 1549-50; d. 1626?)

Born at Verona, Campagna was trained by Danese Cattaneo, whom he assisted after 1565 in work on the Fregoso monument in S. Anastasia (see Plate 121 above) and with whom he moved to Venice. In 1572 he executed, from Cattaneo's model, the seated statue of the Doge on the Loredano monument in SS. Giovanni e Paolo (see Plate 117 above), and in 1573 undertook responsibility for the relief of the Raising of the Youth in Lisbon in the Santo at Padua (Fig. 115), which had been commissioned from Cattaneo. He was again active in the Santo in 1578-9, when he replanned the high altar. In 1578 he carved the statue of S. Giustina over the entrance to the Arsenale. An exceptionally prolific artist, Campagna was active in Venice through the fifteen-eighties and nineties, working among much else on the altar of the Cappella del Rosario in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, the stucco statues in the upper choir of S. Sebastiano (1582), decorative sculptures for the Palazzo Ducale, statues for the Scuola Grande di San Rocco (1587), one of the two Giganti at the entrance to the Zecca (1591; the companion figure by Tiziano Aspetti), and a bust of Francesco Bassano now in the Museo Civico at Bassano (1592). Perhaps his most original and distinguished works in Venice are the high altar of S. Giorgio Maggiore (see Plate 123 below) and the Altar of the Sacrament in S. Giuliano (Fig. 111). Works produced by Campagna in the first quarter of the sixteenth century include the sculptures of Scamozzi's monument of Doge Marino Grimani (d. 1605) and his wife in S. Giuseppe di Castello and of the Dolfin monument in S. Salvatore. In 1604-6 he carved the posthumous statue of Federigo da Montefeltro in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino and the busts of Federigo and Guidobaldo da Montefeltro for their tombs in S. Bernardino. The bronze Annunciation at Verona (see Plate 122 below) dates from about this time. The last reference to Campagna in Venice occurs in 1623, and he seems to have died in or about 1626.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Connected accounts of Campagna's career are provided in an excellent article by Paoletti (in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, v, 1911, p. 455), and by Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, 1921, pp. 527-49, reproducing a number of wrongly attributed minor works) and Venturi (X-iii, pp. 207-64).

Plate 122: THE ANNUNCIATION  
Castelvecchio, Verona

The group of the Annunciatory Angel and Virgin Annunciate, formerly on the façade of the Palazzo del Consiglio and now in the Castelvecchio at Verona (for which see G. Gerola, 'L'Annunciazione di Gerolamo Campagna', in *Atti dell'*

*Accademia d'agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona*, ser. V, iii, 1926, pp. 1-10), owes its origin to a decision of the Consiglio Communale of 25 January 1606 to institute a nightly ceremony in honour of the Virgin before a statue on the 'Domus nova' adjacent to the Palazzo del Consiglio, and to commission a new statue to serve as a focus for this cult. The reliefs, which appear to have been executed in 1609-10, were originally housed in tabernacles on the façade of the Palazzo del Consiglio, and the installation on either side of the doorway of the palace shown in Fig. 118 dates from the middle of the nineteenth century. The figures are described in 1610 in a poem by Giovanni Battistella (*De Annunciazione Deiparae Virginis aeneis figuris expressa et Curiae Senatus veronensis affixa*, for which see G. da Re, 'Palazzo del Consiglio' in G. Sartori, *Protomoteca veronese*, Verona, 1881-7).

Plate 123: HIGH ALTAR  
San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice

The sculptures executed by Campagna for the high altar of S. Giorgio Maggiore comprise a central group of the four Evangelists (front, SS. John and Mark; back, SS. Luke and Matthew) supporting a globe on which stands a figure of God the Father in benediction. On the front of the globe is the dove, and beneath this is the crucified Christ. At the sides are two bronze angels by Pietro Boselli (1644). The high altar is described by Temanza, in his life of Campagna, in the following terms: 'Col favore di Antonio Aliense rinomato pittore, il Campagna ebbe la commissione di fare le Statue di bronzo, che sono sopra il principale altare della Chiesa di S. Giorgio Maggiore. Quattro di esse rappresentano gli Evangelisti, che reggono una gran pala figurata pel Mondo; nel mezzo della quale si spicca una Colomba, simbolo dello Spirito Santo. Sulla sommità dell'asse verticale di lei vi sta una statua del Redentore in atto di benedire. Nobile non meno, che misteriosa è l'invenzione, e sì l'Aliense, che il Campagna si sono meritate le lodi degli intelligenti. Concorreva a quest'opera anche il Vittoria. Ma prevalse il favore del suddetto Aliense, il quale era disgustato di lui, come si è detto nella vita di esso Vittoria' (Through the support of the well-known painter Antonio Aliense Campagna obtained the commission to make the bronze statues which stand over the high altar of S. Giorgio Maggiore. Four of them represent the Evangelists, who support a great ball symbolising the world, from which there protrudes a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost. On the top of the vertical axis of the ball stands a statue of the Redeemer in the act of benediction. The invention is noble as well as strange, and both Aliense and Campagna have earned the praises of connoisseurs. Vittoria also competed for this work. But the choice that prevailed was that of Aliense,

who was disgusted with Vittoria, as has been said in the life of that sculptor). The circumstances in which the commission for the high altar was withheld from Vittoria are described in Temanza's life of this sculptor: 'Quindi avendo destinato le Monache di S. Giustina di Venezia di far dipingere il soffitto del coro della loro Chiesa, l'Aliense celebre pittore aspirava a quell'opera. Ma il Vittoria, con i suoi uffici, e con le sue insinuazioni operò in modo, che l'ebbe il Palma. . . . Punse bensì non poco il Vittoria l'onta fattagli dall'Aliense preddetto (atteso la smodata protezione, ch'ei donava al Palma, per la quale esso Aliense in più incontri n'era restato addietro, con suo grave danno). E fu che avendosi a fare, per la nuova Chiesa di S. Giorgio maggiore, il principale altare, procurava il Vittoria di avere quell'opera, che molto onore gli avrebbe arrecato. Ma prevalendo presso quei Monaci il consiglio dell'Aliense, il quale ne avea fatto il disegno, fu allegata a Girolamo Campagna assai buono scultore, non però da preferirsi al Vittoria. Questo colpo gli penetrò assai l'animo, perch'ei si teneva franco di averla; nè potè nascondere la sua passione, sicchè i suoi amici non se ne avvedessero' (When the nuns of the convent of S. Giustina in Venice decided to have the roof of the choir of their church painted, the well-known painter Aliense wished for the commission. But Vittoria used his offices and insinuations to ensure that Palma received it. . . . Vittoria suffered not a little from the shame inflicted on him by the aforesaid Aliense, arising from the excessive support he gave to Palma, through which Aliense on several occasions was passed over to his grave loss. When the high altar of the new church of S. Giorgio Maggiore was to be made, Vittoria endeavoured to secure the commission, which would have brought him great honour. But the advice tendered to the monks by Aliense, who had designed the altar, prevailed, and the commission was awarded to Girolamo Campagna, an extremely good sculptor, but not to be preferred to Vittoria. This blow struck deep into his mind, because he was holding himself free for this commission, but he was able to hide his fury, so that his friends did not perceive it). The account of the commission given by Ridolfi leaves no doubt that when Campagna was selected to undertake the work the main features of the design had already been decided on: 'Haueuano i Padri di S. Giorgio Maggiore rinouata la Chiesa loro co'modelli di Andrea Palladio, & erteti molti nobili Altari con pitture del Tintoretto e d'altri valorosi Pittori; onde mancaua solo per dar compimento a si bella struttura stabilire l'Altare, oue posar douea il Sacramento, pensando l'Abbate di fare il più bello e riguardeuole, che giamai si vedesse, onde per tal effetto gli furono recati molti disegni e modelli per il tabernacolo, che concerneuano molta spesa e fatica; ma quegli confuso tra la moltitudine, non sapeua a quale appigliarsi, & introdotto Antonio (Vassillacchi) a dire il suo parere, come quello, ch'era modesto e gentile gli li lodò più e meno secondo l'esser loro, e ricercato se si poteua far cosa migliore prese egli l'assunto di formar l'inuentione, che hor si vede, e di quella fatto vn disegno e spiegatolo alla presenza de' Padri così prese a discorrere. Questo globo, ch'elle vedono è figurato per il Mondo sostenuto da queste quattro figure, che rappresentano gli Euangelisti: Nella cima stà Iddio Padre, Rettore dell' Vniuerso. Qui nel mezzo è lo Spirito Santo in forma di Colomba,

& a piedi si ponera in vna particolare custodia l'Eucaristia; onde haueremo raccolte in vno le tre Diuine Persone, il Mondo e gli Euangelisti, promulgatori della Cattolica Fede. Parue a Padri, & all'Abbate in particolare mirabile l'inuentione, onde posto da parte ogn'altro disegno, che solo conteneua colonne et ordinarij ornamenti, deliberò di valersi del pensiero di Antonio: e discorrendo sopra la materia di che far doueuasi, quegli soggiunse, che per far opera degna conuenia il farla di bronzo. Ma la difficultà consistea nella grandezza del globo, che di tal materia (diceuano i Padri) poteua riuscire molto pesante. Ma Antonio disse, che far si hauerebbe di rame dorato, incrociato da ferri, onde restò finalmente leuata ogni difficultà. Approuato il parere di quello dall'Abbate, gli rimise ancora l'elettione dello Scultore, e fù da lui scelto Girolamo Campagna, non senza mortificatione del Vittoria, che per tale cagione gli fù poi all'auuenire sempre poco amico. A cui fece Antonio a chiaro scuro quelle figure vedute da molte parti, nelle quali tuttaua si comprende la sua maniera; e questa opera si bella e pellegrina viene dal continuo ammirata e commendata da ogni intendente, che visita quella Chiesa, tutto che que' Padri si arrogassero il concetto, che da loro meno fù giamai pensato' (The fathers of S. Giorgio Maggiore had rebuilt their church from models by Andrea Palladio, and erected many noble altars with paintings by Tintoretto and other valiant painters. All that remained to be done to complete this beautiful building was to set up the altar where the sacrament was to be placed. The Abbot determined to make it the most beautiful and noteworthy that had ever been seen, and with this in view many designs and models for the tabernacle were brought to him, involving much expense and trouble. Confused by the number of designs, he did not know to whom to turn. When Antonio Vassillacchi who was a gentle and modest man was introduced to give his view, he praised them more or less according to their schemes. Asked whether something better could not be made, he worked out the invention that is to be seen today, made a drawing of it, and explained it in the presence of the fathers in this way. This globe that you see symbolises the world sustained by these four figures who represent the Evangelists. At the top is God the Father the controller of the universe. Here in the middle is the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove, and at the feet there will be a special tabernacle for the Eucharist. In this way we shall have united the three divine Persons, the world and the evangelists, the propagators of the Catholic faith. The fathers and especially the Abbot thought this invention wonderful, and rejecting all the other drawings, which only contained columns and ordinary ornaments, they decided to avail themselves of Antonio's plan. Discussing the material which was to be used, he insisted that if the work were to be worthy of its place it must be made of bronze. The difficulty in the way of this was the size of the globe, which, the fathers objected, would be extremely heavy if it were in bronze. Antonio replied that it could be made of gilded copper crossed by iron supports, and at this every difficulty was disposed of. After Antonio's scheme was approved by the Abbot, he was entrusted with the choice of the sculptor, and Girolamo Campagna was nominated by him, to the mortification of Vittoria, who thenceforth was always unfriendly towards him. For Campagna Antonio drew the figures

in a number of positions in chiaroscuro, and in these his style can be seen. This work, at once so beautiful and strange, was continuously admired and commended by every connoisseur who visits the church, so much so that the fathers claimed credit for the conception of a work for which they were not in any way responsible). The pyramidal design of the group, which is so well adjusted to the columns of the choir, and the struggling figures at the base supporting the illusory weight of the globe, are thus due to Vassillachi, not to Campagna. The sculptures were commissioned from Girolamo Campagna, his brother

Giuseppe, and the coppersmith Francesco Mozzoleni (who was presumably responsible for the globe) on 20 January 1591, for a comprehensive figure of 1650 ducats, and were completed before Easter 1593 (for this see G. Damerini, *L'Isola e il Cenobio di San Giorgio Maggiore*, Venice, 1956, pp. 75-6). The altar is signed on the book held by St. Matthew:

OPVS  
HIERONIMI  
CAMPANEAE  
VERONENSIS

## ALESSANDRO VITTORIA

(b. 1525; d. 1608)

Born at Trent in 1525, Vittoria moved in 1543 to Venice, where he entered the workshop of Jacopo Sansovino. In Trent he appears to have been trained in the studio of Vincenzo and Giovanni Gerolamo Grandi, and their style, as it is seen in the Cantoria of S. Maria Maggiore at Trent (in course of execution 1534), had some influence on his early work. In 1547, apparently as the result of a rupture with Sansovino, Vittoria left Venice for Vicenza, where he worked on the stucco decoration of a room in the Palazzo della Sindacaria di San Paolo. In 1550 he was paid by Sansovino for four River Gods on the Libreria di San Marco, and about this time he carved a small marble figure of St. John the Baptist for S. Zaccaria. In 1553 the breach with Sansovino was at least temporarily healed, and in 1557 Vittoria notes in his *Memorie* that 'fui notato nella nostra schola per patronc'. In 1553 he was already active as a medallist, and according to a letter to Marco Mantova Benavides was engaged in this year on two colossal caryatids at the entrance to the Libreria (completed 1555). In 1555 he was employed in Padua on Sanmicheli's monument of Alessandro Contarini (till 1558). In 1557-8 he was also responsible for carving the lunette of Sansovino's Venier monument in S. Salvatore, Venice, and soon afterwards undertook the stucco decoration of the stairway of the Libreria and of the Scala d'Oro of the Palazzo Ducale. Between 1561 and 1563 he executed an altar in S. Francesco della Vigna (see Plate 126 below), the St. Sebastian from which was cast as a small bronze (1566), and probably in the late sixties this was followed by the Zane altar in the Frari (see Plate 128 below). A wall slab commemorating the visit of Henry III of France to Venice (Palazzo Ducale) dates from 1574, when Vittoria was also engaged on stucco figures for S. Giorgio Maggiore. Leaving Venice with his family in 1576 because of the plague, Vittoria worked at Brescia (remains of monument in Museo Civico) and Vicenza, and on his return to Venice (1577), after the fire in the Ducal Palace, carved statues of Justitia and Venetia for the façade (completed 1579). A bronze relief of the Annunciation made for Johann Fugger (1580) is now in the Art Institute of Chicago. Vittoria's altar in S. Giuliano dates from 1583-4, as does conjecturally the St. Jerome in Santi Giovanni e Paolo (see

Plate 129 below). Figures over the doorway between the Anticollegio and Collegio of the Palazzo Ducale are closely related to those on the altar in S. Giuliano. Two bronze figures of SS. Francis and John the Baptist (see Plate 130 below) in S. Francesco della Vigna probably date from the early eighties, and not, as assumed by Cessi, from a considerably earlier time. Vittoria's late style is represented by the Altare dei Laganegheri in S. Salvatore (see Plate 125 below), and by the sculptor's own monument in S. Zaccaria. Vittoria died on 27 May 1608. The chronology of Vittoria's portrait busts, like that of the remainder of his work, presents many problems. A framework of date can, however, be established from the bust of Priamo da Lezze (d. 1557) in the Gesuiti, the Manzino bust in the Ca d'Oro (before 1566) and the stylistically uniform bust of Marcantonio Grimani in S. Sebastiano, through the bronze bust of Tommaso Rangone in the Ateneo Veneto (1571), for which a terracotta model is in the Museo Correr, and the related bust of Ottaviano Grimani (d. 1576) in Berlin, to the terracotta bust of Niccolò da Ponte in the Seminario and the bust of Domenico Duodo in the Ca d'Oro (1596). Two Contarini busts in S. Maria dell'Orto, reproduced by Planiscig and Venturi, are not by Vittoria, and the terracotta busts ascribed to him include a large number of studio works.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Vittoria is a great but difficult artist, who has never received the treatment that the quality of his works and the wealth of documentation regarding them seem to deserve. Predelli's transcript of the sculptor's *Memorie* (in *Archivio Trentino*, xxiii, 1908) is fundamental for the study of his work. A monograph by Serra (*Alessandro Vittoria*, Rome, 1923) is inferior to the chapter on the artist in Planiscig's *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* (1921, pp. 435-524), and this in turn is less well conceived than the later chapter in Venturi's *Storia* (X-iii, pp. 64-179). Four small volumes by F. Cessi (*Alessandro Vittoria medaglista*, Trent, 1960; *Alessandro Vittoria bronzista*, Trent, 1961; *Alessandro Vittoria architetto e stuccatore*, Trent, 1961; *Alessandro Vittoria Scultore*, 1, Trent, 1961, 2, Trent, 1962) contain some new information but are unreliable.

*Plate 124: BUST OF TOMMASO RANGONE*  
Ateneo Veneto, Venice

The bronze bust of Tommaso Rangone (d. 1577) appears to have been made in or about 1571, when Rangone received permission to instal his portrait with a dedicatory inscription in a corridor adjacent to the sacristy of S. Geminiano in Venice. According to Cicogna (*Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, iv, 1834, p. 101), the inscription read: RELIGIONI. VIRTUTI/THOMAS. PHILOG. RANG. RAVEN./PHYS. EQ. COM. M B PAL. ECCL./ET FAB. PROCVRATOR. The bust was later transferred to its present site, in the Sala Superiore of the Ateneo Veneto. A terracotta model is in the Museo Correr. For Sansovino's portrait of Rangone (who was also portrayed by Tintoretto in 1562 in three canvases for the Scuola Grande di San Marco), see Plate 116.

*Plates 125, 127: ALTAR*  
S. Salvatore, Venice

The altar of the Scuola dei Lughanegheri on the left side of the nave of S. Salvatore was designed by Vittoria. The unusually high central aperture contains an altarpiece by Palma Giovane, which is flanked by pilasters and by double columns. The external columns are recessed, and against these are set the only sculptural decoration of the altar, statues of (*left*) St. Roch and (*right*) St. Sebastian. The altar, statues and altarpiece are described by Temanza (*Vita di Alessandro Vittoria*, Venice, 1827, pp. 44-5): 'Nella chiesa di s. Giuliano fu eretto, con suo disegno l'altare de' Merciai, e in quella di s. Salvatore l'altare de' Pizzicagnoli, ciascheduno adorno di quattro colonne di bei marmi, ma con sopraornati e frontespici triti e di nuove e strane forme. Sopra quello de' Merciai vi sono nobilissime statue di marmo, s. Daniele e santa Catterina, e due di stucco sopra il frontispicio; e su quello de' Pizzicagnoli due altre statue di marmo, s. Rocco e s. Sebastiano: tutte opere che gli fanno molto onore. . . . E molto osservabile che le tavole degli altari de' Merciai in s. Giuliano, e de' Pizzicagnoli in s. Salvatore sono di Jacopo Palma. Tant' era l'amicizia e tanto l'impegno del Vittoria per questo artefice, che, ovunque egli operava, non altre pitture vi dovean essere che di mano di questo. E perche li Pizzicagnoli avenno allegato la pala del loro altare ad Andrea Vicentino, il Vittoria non voleva, a verun putto, mettere le due statue de' santi Rocco e Sebastiano sopra il loro altare, dicendo che non conveniva alla dignita delle opere sue, che le pitture vicine ad esse fossero d'altra mano, che del Palma. E fu tale il suo impegno che dovettero cedere, e in cambio della tavola dell'altare allogarono al Vicentino la mezza luna che vi sta sopra' (In the church of S. Giuliano the altar of the Merciai was built from his design, and in S. Salvatore the altar of the Pizzicagnoli. Each of them is adorned with four marble columns, but the architraves and cornices are commonplace and make use of new and strange forms. On the altar of the Merciai are two noble marble statues of St. Daniel and St. Catherine, with two stucco figures on the architrave. On that of the Pizzicagnoli are two further marble statues of St. Roch and St. Sebastian. These are all works which do him much credit. . . . It is deserving of notice that the altarpieces of the Merciai altar in S. Giuliano and the

Pizzicagnoli altar in S. Salvatore are by Jacopo Palma. So great was the friendship of Vittoria for this artist, and so strong was the support he lent him, that wherever he worked there could not be paintings by any other hand than that of this painter. The Pizzicagnoli had commissioned the altarpiece for their altar from Andrea Vicentino. For this reason Vittoria would not agree to place the two statues of St. Roch and St. Sebastian on their altar, and declared that it was an affront to the dignity of his works that the paintings near them should be by another hand than Palma's. So strongly did he insist, that they were obliged to yield, allocating to Vicentino in place of the altarpiece the semi-circular lunette above). This account is based on a passage in Ridolfi. The altar is one of Vittoria's last major works. Serra follows Giovanelli in assigning it tentatively to the year 1600. Planiscig places it immediately before the sculptor's own monument in S. Zaccaria (begun 1602), and Cessi relates it to the Chapel of S. Saba in S. Antonino (1591-4).

*Plate 126: ALTAR*  
S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice

The earliest of Vittoria's major works in Venice, the second altar on the left of S. Francesco della Vigna, was commissioned on 21 November 1561 by the Procuratori di Citra (summary of document in Serra). By the terms of the contract the work was to be completed by September 1562. According to Planiscig, the commission for the altar was awarded to Vittoria by Messer Niccolò da Montefeltre. The altar is planned as a triptych divided by columns, with three niches of which that in the centre is half as high again as the two niches at the sides. The disparity of size in the three niches is reflected in the statues with which they are filled, the figure of St. Anthony the Abbot in the centre being somewhat larger in scale than the figures of SS. Roch (*left*) and Sebastian (*right*) at the sides. All three figures are signed on their bases, the St. Anthony the Abbot in the form A.V., the St. Roch in the form ALEX. VIC. F and (*above*) ALEXANDER, and the St. Sebastian in the form ALEXANDER. VICTOR. T. F. The progress of the altar can be traced through two passages in Vittoria's accounts (Predelli, 'Le memorie e le carte di Alessandro Vittoria' in *Archivio Trentino*, xxiii, 1908, p. 131). The first of these is dated 24 July 1563 and reads as follows: 'adi. 24. luio. 1563. Ricordo io Alessandro Vittoria chome questo di ss.<sup>to</sup> comperai un pezo di pietra da ruinio per far il S.<sup>to</sup> Sebastiano a San Francesco dila Vigna, et io lebi dala moglie e figlioli che fu di m. Pietro da Salo Scultore, e m.<sup>to</sup> Saluatore tagliapietra fece il mercato e fu presente ala sborssatione di sei ducati per resto e saldo.' The second entry occurs on 3 December 1563, and reads as follows: 'Adi. 3. Decembrio. 1563. Ricordo io Alessandro Vittoria chome questo di ss.<sup>to</sup> mi saldai con M. Zuaniachomo proto da san Chassano de li due pezi di pietra che io ebi da lui per far il S.<sup>to</sup> Antonio e il S.<sup>to</sup> Rocho che fu posti a S.<sup>to</sup> Francesco de la vigna.' The three figures thus date from 1563-4. Vittoria appears to have attached special importance to the figure of St. Sebastian, of which a bronze reduction was cast in 1566 by Andrea di Alessandro da Brescia (Predelli, op. cit., p. 132: 'Adi. 14. Decembrio 1566. Ricordo io Alessandro Vittoria chome questo di ss.<sup>to</sup> sborssai a

M. Andrea che zeta di bronzo, emmio Char.<sup>mo</sup> Compare, scudi sete da L. 7 luno per resto e saldo dil auermi zetato il S.<sup>to</sup> Sebastian di bronzo col suo metalo, et io gli deti la cera rinetata bene.') A second version of the St. Sebastian was cast in 1575 and preserved in the sculptor's studio. This bronze is mentioned in the will drawn up by Vittoria shortly before his death in 1608 (Predelli, op. cit., p. 225: 'Lasso che il mio S.<sup>to</sup> Sebastian de bronzo, se venira buona occasione di qualche Principe o d'altra persona che ne facci conto, sii venduto et il tratto sia diuiso tra la detta M.<sup>o</sup> Doralice et M. Vigilio.') One of these two bronzes is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

*Plate 128: SAINT JEROME  
S. Maria dei Frari, Venice*

The earlier of Vittoria's two statues of St. Jerome stands on the third altar on the right of the church of the Frari. This, the altar of the Zane family, is described in its original form by Vasari, and must thus have been completed before the issue of the second edition of Vasari's lives in 1568. Vasari's account is as follows: 'e ne' Frati minori una cappella, e nella tavola di marmo, che è bellissima e grandissima, l'Assunzione della Nostra Donna di mezzo rilievo, con cinque figurone a basso, che hanno del grande e son fatte con bella maniera, grave e bello andare di panni, e condotte con diligenzia; le quali figure di marmo sono San Ieronimo, San Giovanbatista, San Pietro, Santo Andrea e San Lionardo, alte sei piedi l'una, e le migliori di quante opere ha fatto infin'a ora. Nel finimento di questa cappella sul frontespizio sono due figure pure di marmo, molto graziose, e alte otto piedi l'una' (He did a chapel for the friars minor and in the marble altarpiece, which is most beautiful and very large, he depicted the Assumption of Our Lady in half relief, with five large figures below, which are made in admirable style and carefully finished, with weighty and beautiful treatment of the drapery. These marble figures, which show St. Jerome, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Andrew and St. Leonard, are each six feet high, and are the best works he has produced till now. The chapel is completed by two figures on the cornice, also in marble; these are very graceful and each of them is eight feet high). The St. Jerome is the only marble sculpture from this complex that survives. An account of the destruction of the relief of the Assumption, which was made of stucco not marble, is given by Temanza, who also describes the St. Jerome: 'Nella Chiesa dei Frari frati minori conventuali, fece di stucco una gran tavola dell'altare del Procurator Girolamo Zane, con la Vergine assunta circondata di angeli, e sei figurone de' Santi, alcune di mezzo, ed altre quasi di tutto rilievo, che non potevasi vedere cosa, la quale paragonare se le potesse, in disegno, diligenza, e perfezione. Sopra il frontespicio vi fece due maestose Sibille, con le pieghe dei panni grandiose, e facili, con bellissime arie di teste, ed un putto nel mezzo pur esso perfettamente condotto. Sopra piedistallo nel mezzo dell'altare vi collocò una statua, maggiore del naturale, di S. Girolamo da lui scolpita in marmo, risentita alquanto nei muscoli, sulla maniera del Buonarotti, con bellissimo leone appiedi. L'aria della testa non può essere più nobile, perchè spira senno, santità,

e divozione. Sono così ben spiccate le gambe, e le braccia, che sembra come impossibile, che si possa traforare il marmo in tal guisa, e con tanta franchezza. In somma questa statua è condotta con tanta intelligenza, che ella sola basterebbe a caratterizzarla per eccellenzissimo artefice. Ma che! La maestosa tavola di stucco, pochi anni sono, fu barbaramente manomessa da que' Padri, affine di porvi una tavola dipinta del loro S. Giuseppe da Copertino. Non fu piccolo avanço in tanta strage che abbiano preservato, oltre il S. Girolamo, di marmo, due di quelle figurone quasi di tutto rilievo, e che le abbiano collocate in due nicchi accanto all'altare predetto, ma in modo che niente spiccano agli occhi dei Professori. . . . Se la nobilissima famiglia Zane, testè spenta, sussistesse ancora, quei malaccorti Padri non avrebbero tolto alle bell'Arti cotanta opera, nè spogliata avrebbero questa Metropoli di così raro ornamento' (In the church of the conventional friars minor, he made in stucco a great altarpiece for the altar of the Procurator Girolamo Zane, with the Virgin of the Assumption surrounded by angels, as well as six large figures of Saints, some in half relief and others almost in the round. For design, care and perfection no work could be found that would compare with these. Above the cornice he made two majestic Sibyls, with grandiose and simple folds of drapery, and with beautiful expressions in the heads. In the middle is a putto which is also perfectly executed. On a plinth in the middle of the altar he placed an over life size statue of St. Jerome carved in marble, in which the muscles are emphasised, in the style of Buonarroti, with a most beautiful lion at the feet. The expression of the head could not be more noble; it breathes wisdom, devoutness and sanctity. The legs and arms are so well defined that it seems almost impossible that the marble should be carved in such a fashion and with such freedom. In brief, this statue is executed with such intelligence, that it alone would suffice to characterise Vittoria as a most excellent artist. But alas, a few years ago the majestic stucco altarpiece was barbarously destroyed by the Franciscan friars, in order to make room for a painted altarpiece of S. Giuseppe da Copertino. It is no small mercy that they have preserved, in addition to the marble St. Jerome, two of the large figures almost in the round, and that they have placed these in two niches beside the altar. . . . If the noble family of Zane, now extinct, were still preserved, those maladroit friars would never have deprived the fine arts of such a work, nor would they have despoiled this city of so rare an ornament). Temanza's account implies that the figures mentioned by Vasari as carved in marble were in fact modelled in stucco, and that the St. Jerome was the single marble figure in the chapel. The statue is signed on the front of the base: **ALEXANDER VICTORIA FACIEBAT**. Two stucco figures of Apostles in deep relief in niches beside the altar, and two stucco sibyls on the cornice, survive. The altar is assumed by Cessi, following Giovannelli, to have been completed in 1565.

*Plate 129: SAINT JEROME  
SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice*

The statue of St. Jerome, which is now on the first altar on the left of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, was carved for the Scuola di San

Fantin, now the Ateneo Veneto. The Scuola di San Fantin or Scuola dei Giustiziati (which was suppressed in 1806) was the seat of the joint confraternities of St. Jerome and of S. Maria della Giustizia. The statue is signed on the front of the base: ALEXANDER VICTORIA F. Universally regarded as a late work, it has been brought into relation (Serra, Planiscig, Venturi) with bronze statues of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist from the Scuola and with the sculptures on the façade. Vittoria's account books (Predelli, op. cit. pp. 192-3) record payments to three pupils, Jacopo da Bassano, Andrea dell'Aquila and Agostino Rubini, for work on the façade sculptures between 21 May 1583 and 9 May 1584. Cessi follows Gerola (in *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti*, 1925, p. 339) in identifying the statue with a St. Jerome on which Vittoria was working in 1576. The compressed pose and the relatively weak side views suggest that it was destined for a niche.

Plate 130: SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST  
S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice

The bronze statuettes of SS. John the Baptist and Francis, which surmount the two holy-water basins at the west end of S. Francesco della Vigna, are signed on their circular bases: ALEXANDER. VICTORIA. F. They are mentioned inaccurately by Temanza ('Fece il Vittoria, con molto applauso le tre statue

di marmo, S. Antonio Ab., S. Rocco, e S. Sebastiano nella seconda cappella alla dritta della Chiesa di S. Francesco della Vigna, e due altre in bronzo, S. Francesco e S. Bernardino di Siena sulle pile dell'acqua Santa nella Chiesa medesima'), but do not figure in Vittoria's account books, and are therefore not precisely datable. Apart from Serra and Cessi, who follows Giovanelli in relating them to the S. Francesco della Vigna altar of 1561-4 (see Plate 126 above), there is general agreement that they are late works, and they are referred by Venturi (X-iii, p. 126) to the bronze figures of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist from the Scuola di S. Fantin, now in the Cappella del Rosario in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which were presumably executed at the same time as the statues from Vittoria's models on the façade of the church (1583). They are conjecturally dated about 1583-4 by Planiscig and are regarded as late works by Lorenzetti (*Venezia e il suo estuario*, Venice, 1926, p. 364).

Plate 131: NEPTUNE  
Victoria & Albert Museum, London

The finest of Vittoria's surviving bronzes, the Neptune is related in handling and pose to the bronze Baptist in S. Francesco della Vigna (Plate 130), which is dated by Cessi ca. 1564, but is rightly assigned by Planiscig to a considerably later date. Both bronzes were perhaps made ca. 1580-5.

## TIZIANO ASPETTI (b. 1565; d. 1607)

Probably trained by Girolamo Campagna but influenced by Vittoria, Aspetti, who appears to have been born in Padua, is first heard of in Venice in 1582, when he executed one of the two colossal figures at the entrance to the Zecca, the pair to which is by Campagna. Between this date and 1590, when he moved to Padua, Aspetti undertook a number of major commissions in Venice. These include the chimney-piece in the Sala dell' Anticollegio of the Palazzo Ducale, with male supporting figures and a relief of the Forge of Vulcan, three bronze busts for the Sala d'arme of the Consiglio dei Dieci in the Palazzo Ducale, figures of Justice and Abundance on the first altar to the left in S. Francesco della Vigna, and statues of Moses and St. Paul on the façade of the same church. At Padua between 1591 and 1603 he executed an important group of bronze sculptures for the Santo (see Plate 132 below), and reliefs of scenes from the life of St. Daniel for the Duomo. In 1604 he accompanied Antonio Grimani, Bishop of Torcello, to Pisa, where he worked until his death in 1607. At this time he was patronised by Camillo Berzighelli, for whose kinsman, Lorenzo Usimbardi, he made his last and finest relief, the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in the Usimbardi Chapel in S. Trinita, Florence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 559-94) with some debatable

attributions, and A. Venturi (X-iii, pp. 279-311), the latter more adequately illustrated.

Plate 132: FAITH  
S. Antonio, Padua

After the completion (1577) of the last of the marble narrative reliefs of scenes from the life of St. Anthony, that of Girolamo Campagna, the attention of the Congregazione dell' Arca was directed to the altar in the Chapel of St. Anthony containing the body of the Saint. Plans for a new altar were made in 1587 by Vincenzo Scamozzi and in 1588 by Marc Antonio de' Sordi, but these were not implemented, and in 1592 two further designs were solicited from Tiziano Aspetti and Marc Antonio Palladio. On 25 October 1593 Aspetti's design was approved by ballot ('Dopo lungo et vario discorso intorno all' accomodamento dell'altare del glorioso Santo Antonio, a chi piace che sia fatto il modello appresentato di Titiano Aspetti con le colonelle schiette et a bene placito della veneranda congregazione senza la palla della quale si parlera un'altra volta, metta nel rosso e a chi piace, metta nel verde'). A contract of 6 November 1593 enumerates the bronze sculptures which were to decorate the altar; these comprised three statues of SS. Anthony of Padua, Bonaventure and Louis of Toulouse, four angels

holding candlesticks, and four bronze figures of Virtues. The latter were removed in 1651 to the balustrade of the choir, where they still stand. The four figures represent Faith, Charity, Temperance and Fortitude, and are signed on the front of rectangular bases cast in one with the main figure T<sup>TI</sup>.A<sup>TI</sup>.

p<sup>NI</sup>.O<sup>VS</sup>. These four figures, with the seven figures remaining on the altar, two documented reliefs made for the altar of St. Daniel in the crypt of the Duomo at Padua (1592) and a relief of the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence in S. Trinita, Florence, form the basis for study of Aspetti's bronze statuettes.

## NICCOLO ROCCATAGLIATA

(active 1593-1636)

Genoese by birth, Roccatagliata is first heard of in 1593, when he executed two figures of SS. George and Stephen (see Plate 133 below) for S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice. A number of documented sconces (1594) and candlesticks (1598) by Roccatagliata exist in the same church. Along with an altar frontal with an Allegory of Redemption in San Moisè (1633), signed by the sculptor with his son Sebastiano and cast by Jean Chenet and Marin Feron, these form the sole basis for the reconstruction of Roccatagliata's work. If the tradition recorded by Soprani, that Roccatagliata prepared models for Tintoretto (d. 1594), is correct, the sculptor must already have been active in Venice in the 1580s. He is last heard of in 1636, when he received, with Pietro Boselli, a contract for two bronze angels for the high altar of S. Giorgio Maggiore. It has been suggested (Venturi) that between 1596 and 1633 Roccatagliata returned to Genoa; there is no confirmation of this. Roccatagliata was a prolific maker of small bronzes.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A survey of Roccatagliata's work by L.

Planiscig (*Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 597-628) is less perceptive than the relevant chapter of the *Storia* of Venturi (X-iii, pp. 378-97).

*Plate 133: SAINT STEPHEN*  
S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice

The first reference to the presence of Roccatagliata in Venice occurs in a commission of 31 January 1593 for two bronze figures of SS. Stephen and George for the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore ('Accordo con M. Nicolo Roccatagliata scultore per le due figure in bronzo, cioè un S. Giorgio ed sopra li scabelli delle prime sedie per ducati 60'). This document is wrongly referred by Venturi (X-iii, p. 379) to the year 1595, and is given in its correct form by Mothes (*Geschichte der Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs*, 1860, ii, p. 266) and Planiscig. The two figures are still in their original positions on the left and right sides of the balustrade across the choir of the church.

## BASTIANO TORRIGIANI

(d. 1596)

Born at Bologna, Torrigiani was active in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta in Rome after 1573, and after Guglielmo's death assumed control of his studio. He executed bronze sculptures for the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter's, the Cappella del Presepio in S. Maria Maggiore, and the Cappella del Coro in S. Agostino at Bologna. His most celebrated works are the colossal bronze figures of SS. Peter and Paul cast for the summits of the Trajan and Antonine columns (1585-7). For his portrait busts of Pope Sixtus V see Plate 134 below.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** Gramberg (in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, xxxiii, 1939, pp. 305-6).

*Plate 134: POPE SIXTUS V*  
Ehem. Staatliche Museen, Berlin

The bust (for which see Sobotka, 'Bastiano Torrigiani und die

Berliner Papstbüsten', in *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxiii, 1912, pp. 252-74) was formerly in the Royal Palace in Berlin. As noted by Sobotka, the figure of Justice on the right shoulder of the cope corresponds with that on a bust of Gregory XIII in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, also ascribed to Bastiano Torrigiani. The attribution to Torrigiani is due to Baglione, who mentions that this sculptor 'nella bella vigna degli Eccellenissimi Peretti, dentro il casino verso termini, fece di bronzo il busto del Pontefice Sisto V'. The bust from the Vigna Peretti is now in the Duomo at Treja (Macerata), and exists in a second version in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Though the pose does not correspond with that of the Berlin bust of Sixtus V (which exists in a single version only), there can be no reasonable doubt that the two portraits are by the same hand. The present bust was presumably produced in the lifetime of the Pope, and is therefore datable 1585-90.

# GIOVANNI ANTONIO PARACCA DA VALSOLDO

(d. after 1628)

Born in Lombardy (date unrecorded), Valsoldo came to Rome as a youth (Baglione) and was active as a restorer of antiques under Pope Gregory XIII. He is described (Baglione) as an artist of indolent habits and dissolute character. His earliest surviving works are the sculptures for the Cappella Sistina in S. Maria Maggiore (see Plate 135 below). After the completion of these, in 1591 he received the commission for two statues of SS. Peter and Paul for the Cesi Chapel in S. Maria di Vallicella, and later (1612) worked for the Cappella Paolina. The last reference to his activity occurs in 1628, when he restored a figure for the Villa Borghese. According to Baglione, he was responsible for the tomb of Cardinal Giovanni Girolamo Albani in S. Maria del Popolo, and for restoring the colossal Horse-Tamers on the Quirinal.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The primary source for Valsoldo's activity is a life by Baglione (pp. 79-80). The only assessment of his work is contained in some pages by Venturi (X-iii, pp. 592-601).

*Plate 135: CAPPELLA SISTINA*  
S. Maria Maggiore, Rome

The circumstances of the construction of the Cappella Sistina are described by Bellori in his life of the architect Domenico Fontana, who was responsible for the overall design of the chapel and for its tombs:

'Divenuto Architetto del Cardinal Montalto fece la pianta, e cominciò la gran Cappella del Presepio in Santa Maria Maggiore, e' il palazzetto del giardino verso la medesima Basilica. Haveva Montalto con l'animo suo grande dato principio à quest'opere, e mostrato le forze superiori alla fortuna di povero Cardinale; e perciò il Papa, ch'era Gregorio XIII gli tolse il piatto (così chiamano in Roma il sussidio solito darsi a Cardinali poveri). Per la qual cagione intermettendosi le spese delle fabbriche, Domenico mosso dal desiderio dell'arte, e dal amore insieme che portava al Cardinale suo benefattore, si lasciò tirare da un pensiero generoso, ch' à lui riusci fortunatissimo. Havendo egli de' denari guadagnati in Roma mandati alla patria mille scudi, determinò spenderli, per non abbandonare affatto l'edificio della Cappella, con isperanza che di giorno in giorno sarebbono succedute occasioni di rivalersene, e di avvantaggiarsi nella generosità di Montalto. Siche fattasi rimettere quella quantità di denari, seguivava il meglio che poteva la fabbrica, non senza piacere del Cardinale, che osservando molto bene la buona volontà, & amorevolezza di Domenico, in quel tanto succeduta la morte del Papa, & egli assunto al Pontificato col nome di Sisto V. lo dichiarò suo Architetto, e senza alterar punto la pianta della Cappella, gli ordinò che la terminasse, variendo solo gli ornamenti arricchiti di marmi, statue, e stucchi d'oro. . . . Di quà, e di là ne' muri laterali per

tutto il vano vi sono li sepolcri, l'uno di Sisto V l'altro di Pio V che l'haveva creato Cardinale, con le loro statue, e storie di marmo sollevate in due ordini, frà colonne di verde antico essendo, tutti i pilastri, e le mura incrostate di marmi varij fino al cornicione, e' l'resto adorno di pitture e scompartimenti di stucco d'oro. Onde tutta la Cappella per gli ornamenti, e buona simmetria riesce magnifica, essendovi accommodate due cappellette entro le grossezze de' primi pilastri con li cori di sopra, e di fuori li muri adornati di ordini d'architettura, e membri di travertino. Siche la pianta di questo edificio per la sua bellezza è stata seguitata nell'altra cappella di incontro di Paolo V. la quale se bene è superiore per la ricchezza, nondimeno cede nell'ordine, e nel disegno' (Becoming Cardinal Montalto's architect, he made the plan for the large Cappella del Presepio in S. Maria Maggiore and began work on it, as well as on the Villa in the garden near the same basilica. Seeing that Montalto, with his great ambition, had begun these works and that their scale exceeded that suitable to the fortune of a poor Cardinal, the Pope, Gregory XIII, withdrew his piatto (the name given in Rome to the subsidy customarily awarded to poor Cardinals). For this reason Domenico, moved by his artistic aspirations and by the love he bore the Cardinal, his benefactor, succumbed to a generous instinct which turned out well for him. Of the money he had earned in Rome he had transmitted to his native town a thousand scudi, and in order to avoid the total cessation of work on the structure of the chapel, he determined to spend them, in the hope that from day to day opportunities might occur to reimburse himself, and to gain advantage from the generosity of Montalto. Having ensured the return of this sum of money to Rome, he continued with the chapel as best he could, to the great pleasure of the Cardinal, who observed his good will and affection. At this moment the Pope died, and Montalto, raised to the pontificate with the title of Sixtus V, named Fontana as his architect, and without modifying the scheme of the chapel in any way, ordered that it should be completed, enjoining only that the decoration should be enriched with marbles, statues and gilt stuccos. . . . On either side the lateral walls are fully occupied by the tombs of Sixtus V and of Pius V, by whom he had been created Cardinal, with statues, two tiers of narrative marble reliefs, between columns of verde antico, and pilasters and walls encrusted with fine marbles up to the cornice, and the rest decorated with paintings and gilded stuccos. So the whole chapel, through its decoration and good symmetry, succeeded magnificently. Two small chapels were set in the depth of the first pilasters, and outside the walls were adorned with architectural orders and members of travertine. On account of its beauty the scheme of this chapel was imitated in the chapel of Paul V opposite, which, though superior in richness, is none the less inferior in order and design). The sculptured decoration of the chapel comprises: (A) facing

(wall, statues of SS. Peter and Paul by Leonardo da Sarzana after models by Prospero Bresciano, (B) left wall, tomb of Pope Pius V (Fig. 150) (statue of the Pope by Leonardo da Sarzana; left relief lower register, Pope Pius V confers the papal banner on Marcantonio Colonna by Egidio della Riviera; right relief lower register, Pope Pius V invests the Count of Santa Fiora with the command against the Huguenots by Egidio della Riviera; central relief upper register, Coronation of Pope Pius V by Egidio della Riviera; left relief upper register, the Battle of Lepanto by Niccolò Pippi; right relief upper register, the Victory of the Count of Santa Fiora by Niccolò Pippi), statues of St. Dominic by Giovanni Battista della Porta and St. Peter Martyr by Valsoldo. (C) right wall, tomb of Pope Sixtus V (Fig. 149) (statue of the Pope by Valsoldo; left relief lower register, Charity and Munificence with an allegory of the achievements of Pope Sixtus V by Valsoldo; right relief lower register, Justice and Peace with an allegory of the Pope's campaign against the brigands by Niccolò Pippi; central relief upper register, the Coronation of Pope Sixtus V by Egidio della Riviera; left relief upper register, the Canonisation of S. Diego

by Egidio della Riviera; right relief upper register, the Peace between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Poland by Egidio della Riviera), statues of St. Francis by Flaminio Vacca and St. Anthony of Padua by Olivieri.

The project for the chapel was sponsored by Sixtus V before his election to the papacy in April 1585. As Pope he visited the Chapel in September and October 1585, and celebrated Mass there at Christmas 1586. Relics of St. Lucy and St. Paul for the altars beside the entrance were installed in the chapel on 1 November 1586. The tomb of Pope Pius V was commissioned by the Pope in July 1586 at an estimated cost of 25,000 scudi, and the statue of Pius V was inspected by the Pope in September of this year in the sculptor's studio, and was installed in June 1587. The body of Pope Pius V was transferred to the tomb on 8 February 1588. The statue for the monument opposite was installed in an unfinished state in the presence of the Pope on 30 July 1589; payments for it are recorded on 28 March 1588 and 10 March 1590. The monument was still incomplete at the time of the Pope's death in August 1590, and his body was committed to it by his nephew, Cardinal Montalto, on 26 August 1591.

## NICOLA CORDIERI

(b. ca. 1567; d. 1612)

Born in Lorraine, probably in 1567 if, as stated by Baglione, he died at the age of forty-five, Cordier, known in Italy as Cordieri or il Franciosino, came as a youth to Rome. In 1601 he received a payment for nine angels for the nave of St. John Lateran, and in 1602 completed a statue of St. Gregory the Great, carved from a block used by Michelangelo, for S. Gregorio al Celio. Probably in the latter year he received the commission from the same patron, Cardinal Baronio, for the statue of S. Silvia in the Oratorio di S. Silvia at S. Gregorio. For the Aldobrandini Chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva (commissioned 1600 from Giacomo della Porta, completed by Carlo Maderno), he carved the sculptures for the tombs of the parents of Pope Clement VIII, Silvestro and Luisa Deti Aldobrandini (Fig. 147) (figure of Religion on latter monument by Camillo Mariani, who was also responsible for the statues beside the altar in the chapel: effigies inspected by the Pope in 1604, tomb of Luisa Deti Aldobrandini still unfinished at the Pope's death in 1605). Cordieri also executed (1608) the bronze statue of King Henry IV of France in the portico of St. John Lateran and a bronze statue of Pope Paul V at Rimini. His finest works are four statues for the Cappella Paolina in S. Maria Maggiore (see Plate 136 below), which were carved after 1609 and for which he received a sum of 3400 scudi. The date given for Cordieri's death by Baglione (25 November 1612) is confirmed by a contemporary avviso (Orbaan), but is rejected by Venturi, who assumes that he was active until 1634.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A brief account of Cordieri's career is given

by Baglione (pp. 114-6), and a useful corpus of illustrations is supplied by Venturi (X-iii, pp. 642-69). For the documentation of the Cappella Aldobrandini see Pastor (xi, pp. 657-9), and for Cordieri as a restorer of antiques see Faldi (*Galleria Borghese; le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954, pp. 48-9). Cordieri's activity as a maker of small bronzes has not been investigated; a bronze reduction of the Charity on the tomb of Luisa Deti Aldobrandini is in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

### Plate 136: CAPPELLA PAOLINA S. Maria Maggiore, Rome

The first reference to the project for the construction of the Cappella Paolina occurs soon after the election of Pope Paul V in an avviso of 25 June 1605 (Orbaan, p. 49): 'Nostro Signore rissolvè far la cappella in Santa Maria Maggiore ricontra a quella di Sisto, ove vuol essere sepellito, ma per l'Iddio gratia ci havrà tempo.' The chapel was designed to house the painting of the Virgin traditionally ascribed to St. Luke and the tombs of the Pope and of his predecessor Clement VIII. It occupied the site of a sacristy, which was forthwith demolished, and on 6 August 1605 the foundation stone was laid by the Pope (Orbaan, p. 58: 'di sua mano buttò la prima pietra nella capella che fa Sua Beatitudine fare'). It was rumoured at the time that the Pope was prepared to spend 150,000 scudi on the chapel (Orbaan, p. 58). This sum was greatly exceeded, and by October 1618 the total expenditure on the chapel was 306,987 scudi

(*Pastor*, xii, p. 666). During the whole period of construction the Pope paid repeated visits to the church. Among those recorded in the *avvisi* are visits on 5 August 1606, when he rode to the church 'et diede gli ordini che gli parsero più a proposito per la continuazione della fabrica della sacrestia et capella' (*Orbaan*, p. 75), and 8 September 1610, when he 'volse veder minutamente la fabrica della sua cappella' (*Orbaan*, p. 176). In 1611 the structure of the chapel was complete, and on 8 January 1611 the Pope announced his intention of transferring the body of Clement VIII to its new tomb on the feast of the Assumption in the same year (*Orbaan*, p. 183). Immediately afterwards he nominated the painters Arpino, Baglione, Cigoli and Giovanni dei Vecchi to decorate the chapel. The statues of the Pope and of Clement VIII were installed in their places on 14 December 1611 (*Orbaan*, pp. 195-6). On 27 January 1613 the miraculous Virgin and Child was installed over the altar, and on 8 September 1613 the Pope said Mass in the chapel (*Orbaan*, pp. 12-3). The architect of the chapel and of the tombs was Flaminio Ponzio. The principal sculptured decoration of the chapel comprises: (A) *altar wall*, statues of (*right*) St. John the Evangelist by Camillo Mariani and (*left*) St. Joseph by Ambrogio Bonvicino, relief of the Foundation of the Church of S. Maria Maggiore over the altar by Stefano Maderno, (B) *right wall*, tomb of Pope Clement VIII (Fig. 151) (statue of the Pope by Silla di Viggù; left relief lower register, Surrender of Ferrara by Buonvicino; right relief lower register, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini leading the papal troops against the

Turks by Mariani; central relief upper register, Coronation of Pope Clement VIII by Pietro Bernini; left relief upper register, Conclusion of peace between France and Spain by Ippolito Buzio; right relief upper register, Canonisation of SS. Raymond and Hyacinth by Valsoldo; caryatids in upper register by Pietro Bernini), statues of (*left*) Aaron and (*right*) St. Bernard by Cordieri, (C) *left wall*, tomb of Pope Paul V (Fig. 152) (statue of the Pope by Silla di Viggù; left relief lower register, Papal army in Hungary fighting against the Turks by Maderno; right relief lower register, the Fortification of Ferrara by Buonvicino; central relief upper register, Coronation of Pope Paul V by Buzio; left relief upper register, Canonisation of St. Charles Borromeo and S. Francesca Romana by Valsoldo; right relief upper register, Persian ambassadors received by the Pope by Cristoforo Stati; caryatids in upper register by Buzio), statues of (*left*) St. Athanasius and (*right*) David by Cordieri. The discrepancy between the poses of the papal statues is explained by an *avviso* of 26 July 1608 (*Orbaan*, p. 120), which records that the Pope took over a statue of Clement VIII destined for the Campidoglio, where it was to have been a counterpart to Olivieri's statue of Gregory XIII. The caryatids and relief carved by Pietro Bernini for the Clement VIII tomb were executed between 1611 and 1614, a final payment being made for the relief on 19 January 1614. The present relief appears to have been carved in substitution for an earlier rejected relief by the same sculptor of the same scene (for documents see Sobotka, 'Pietro Bernini,' in *L'Arte*, xii, 1909, pp. 401-22).

## PIETRO BERNINI (b. 1562; d. 1629)

Born at Sesto near Florence on 5 May 1562 and trained in Florence by Ridolfo Sirigatti (Baglione), Pietro Bernini migrated as a youth to Rome, and in 1584 'invitato dalla speranza di maggiori vantaggi' (Baldinucci) moved to Naples. Nothing is known of his activity in his first Roman period, though it is stated (Baglione, Baldinucci) that at this time he worked at Caprarola, and suggested (Sobotka) that he was employed on decorations in the Vatican. The earliest surviving works carried out by Bernini in Naples are two statues of the Madonna of the Snow and St. Catherine of Alexandria at Terranova Sappo Minulio, a marble statue of St. John the Baptist in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo, and a terracotta figure of the same Saint in S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples. In 1591 he accepted the commission for a marble altar or tabernacle for S. Maria di Colorito at Morano Calabro, of which statues of SS. Catherine and Lucy survive in this church, and two figures of angels are in the Chiesa della Maddalena. In 1594 he returned with his wife to Florence, where he was still resident in 1595. He collaborated with Caccini on a terracotta model for the relief of the Trinity over the entrance to S. Trinità (document of 28 June 1594) and on the carving of the

relief. A year later he returned to Naples, according to Domenico Bernini in connection with a commission from the Viceroy for sculptures for the Certosa di S. Martino, for which statues had been commissioned from Caccini in 1593. Domenico Bernini's statement is confirmed by a payment of 26 August 1598 for sculptures for this church (for this see Addosio, *Documenti inediti di artisti napoletani dei secoli XVI e XVII*, Naples, 1920, p. 146). Works executed by Pietro Bernini for S. Martino at this time comprise a statue of the Virgin and Child with the young Baptist, recarved about 1626-31 by Fanzago, and a relief of St. Martin and the Beggar (Martinelli), now in the Museo di San Martino, and a figure of Purity in the choir of the church. To this or to a slightly later date belong statues of SS. Peter and Paul in the Duomo in Naples, a figure of St. Matthew in the Gesù Nuovo, two statues of Charity (Fig. 154) and Security on the façade of the Monte di Pietà (1600-1), statues of SS. Lawrence and Stephen in the crypt of the Duomo at Amalfi (1602), a Prophet in S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and the important cycle of six statues on the Ruffo altar in the Gerolomini. After 1600 Pietro Bernini was associated in Naples with the sculptor Naccherino, with whom he worked on the

Fontana Medina now in Piazza Bovio (extent of Bernini's responsibility for existing figures doubtful).

In 1605 or 1606 Pietro Bernini moved with his family to Rome, where he undertook the Assumption in S. Maria Maggiore (see Plate 138 below) and was employed on the tomb of Pope Clement VIII in the Cappella Paolina (see Plate 136 above) (four caryatids 1611-2; relief of the Coronation of the Pope, first version 1611, second version 1613). After this time he carved the statue of St. John the Baptist for the Barberini Chapel in S. Andrea della Valle (see Plate 137 below), and an angel for the doorway of the chapel in the Quirinal (1616-7), and was employed on decorative sculptures for the Villa Borghese (1617-20). In the latter year he seems to have been active at Caprarola with Girolamo Rainaldi, with whom he was associated in work on the Bellarmine monument in the Gesù (1621-3, statues of Religion and Wisdom in conjunction with Giuliano Finelli), the Sfondrato monument in S. Cecilia in Trastevere, and the Dolfin monument in S. Michele in Isola, Venice (1622-3, statues of Faith and Hope). Pietro Bernini died on 29 August 1629. The problems arising from his work relate (i) to the identification of his early Neapolitan sculptures, (ii) to the delimitation of his sculptures from the early sculptures of his son, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (q.v.), and (iii) to the definition of his style, which, though not properly baroque (as claimed by Muñoz), is not adequately covered by the alternative definitions of Wittkower ('a gifted but facile late Mannerist sculptor') or Martinelli ('manierisimo espressionistico').

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The career of Pietro Bernini is the subject of parenthetical references in Baldinucci's life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Domenico Bernini's life of his father, and is described in a brief biography by Baglione (pp. 304-6). The best general account of his style and development is contained in an article by V. Martinelli ('Contributi alla scultura del Seicento: iv, Pietro Bernini e figli,' in *Commentari*, iv, 1953, pp. 133-54), which supersedes earlier articles by A. Muñoz ('Pietro Bernini,' in *Vita d'Arte*, iv, 1909, pp. 425-70) and G. Sobotka ('Pietro Bernini,' in *L'Arte*, xii, 1909, pp. 401-22) and the well illustrated chapter on Pietro Bernini in the *Storia* of Venturi (X-iii, pp. 886-922). Venturi's chapter is based in part on an unpublished thesis by P. Rotondi (*Pietro Bernini Scultore*, Rome, 1932), whose articles ('Le opere giovanili di Pietro Bernini,' in *Capitolium*, xi, 1933, pp. 10-1; 'L'educazione artistica di Pietro Bernini,' in *Capitolium*, xi, 1933, pp. 392-9; 'Studi intorno a Pietro Bernini,' in *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, v, 1935-6, pp. 189-202, 345-61) deal primarily with the reconstruction of the artist's early works. For Pietro Bernini's connection with Rainaldi see Hoogewerff ('G. Vasanzio fra gli architetti romani,' in *Palladio*, vi, 1942, pp. 53-4).

*Plate 137: SAINT JOHN THE BAPTIST*  
S. Andrea della Valle, Rome

The Barberini Chapel in S. Andrea della Valle was purchased by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini on 29 November 1604, and was consecrated on 8 December 1616. It contains statues of (right) St. Martha by Francesco Mochi and St. John the Evangelist by Ambrogio Bonvicino, and (left) St. Mary Magdalen by Cristoforo Stati and St. John the Baptist by Pietro Bernini. The four statues are not documented, and the only one of them that has been studied in detail is that by Mochi (for which see Hess, *Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri*, 1934, pp. 132-3). The St. Martha seems to have been begun after Mochi's return from Orvieto in 1610, was left incomplete on his departure for Piacenza in 1612, and was probably not completed till 1629. It is likely (Hess) that a companion figure of St. John the Baptist was commissioned from Mochi at the same time, and that owing to Mochi's absence in Piacenza the commission was later transferred to Pietro Bernini. Mochi's Baptist was none the less completed, and is now in the Hofkirche at Dresden. Pietro Bernini's statue is conjecturally assigned to the year 1616. If Passeri's account is to be believed, an attempt to replace it with Mochi's statue of the same Saint was defeated by Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

*Plate 138:*  
THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN  
S. Maria Maggiore, Rome

The commissioning of Pietro Bernini's Assumption is described by Baglione: 'Negli anni di Paolo V. fu Pietro Bernini dal Caualier Giuseppe Cesari proposto al Pontefice, per fare vna storia grande di marmo, e metterla nella facciata della cappella Paolo a s. Maria Maggiore; venne egli da Napoli, e fece l'Assunta con gli Appostoli, scultura grande di marmo, di basso rilievo; la quale poi fu posta sopra l'altare del Choro della nuova Sagrestia di quella Basilica fatta da Paolo V' (During the reign of Paul V Pietro Bernini was proposed to the Pope by Cavaliere Giuseppe Cesari to undertake a large marble relief intended for the façade of the Cappella Paolina in Santa Maria Maggiore. He came from Naples, and carved the Assumption of the Virgin with the Apostles, a large marble sculpture in low relief, which was then placed over the altar in the choir of the new sacristy of the basilica constructed by Paul V). The relief was commissioned on 30 December 1606; the last recorded payment for it occurs in December 1610. The composition is referred by Venturi to Correggio, but finds its closest point of reference in two altarpieces by Lodovico Carracci in the Pinacoteca at Bologna and the North Carolina Museum of Art, apparently painted about 1585.

## GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

(b. 1598; d. 1680)

Born at Naples on 7 December 1598, Gian Lorenzo Bernini in or about 1605 was brought by his father Pietro Bernini to Rome, and was trained in Rome in his father's workshop. Study of the antique, however, from the beginning played a major part in his development, and his earliest surviving work, the Goat Amalthea nursing the Infant Jupiter (ca. 1615), in the Galleria Borghese, is indebted in style and technique to classical sculpture. At a very early date he also experimented with portraiture and with religious sculpture. In the first category his juvenilia comprise the bust of Monsignor Giovanni Battista Santoni (d. 1592) on a wall monument in S. Prassede (ca. 1616) and the bust of Giovanni Vigevano (d. 1630) in S. Maria sopra Minerva (ca. 1617-8); the former is a conventional commemorative portrait, while the latter is a life bust. In the second category he carved statues of St. Lawrence for Leone Strozzi (Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence) and St. Sebastian, the latter perhaps intended (Wittkower) for the Barberini Chapel in S. Andrea della Valle (Thyssen-Bornemisza collection), both ca. 1617. In his twenties Bernini produced the masterly mythological groups which are now, with one exception, assembled in the Galleria Borghese; these comprise the Aeneas and Anchises (see Plate 139 below), the Pluto and Proserpine (see Plate 140 below), the Apollo and Daphne (see Plate 142 below), the David (see Plate 141 below), and the Neptune and Triton in London, which was carved ca. 1621 for the Villa Montalto. Concurrently Bernini was engaged in the restoration of antiques, notably the Borghese Hermaphrodite in the Louvre (to which a mattress was added in or before 1620), the Barberini Faun at Munich, and the right foot and other parts of the Ludovisi Ares in the Museo delle Terme (ca. 1621). He first gives the measure of his capacity as a portraitist in a small bust of Paul V in the Galleria Borghese (ca. 1617), and as a religious sculptor in the *Animula Beata* and *Animula Damnata* in the Palazzo di Spagna (ca. 1621). His first major religious sculpture is, however, the S. Bibiana (see Plate 143 below). After the election of his patron Cardinal Maffeo Barberini as Pope Urban VIII (6 August 1623), Bernini was extensively employed in St. Peter's, initially on the Baldacchino (first payment 12 July 1624, completed 29 June 1633) and subsequently on the Longinus (Bernini's design for 1633) and the systematisation of the piers approved 15 May 1628, model completed 5 April 1632, carving begun 1634-5 and completed in the first half of 1638), the balconies above the colossal statues, the tomb of Pope Urban VIII (see Plate 146 below), the tomb of the Countess Matilda (commissioned 1633, unveiled 20 March 1637), and the relief of Christ's Charge to Peter over the central door (commissioned and designed 1633, not completed before 1646). In addition to these works he undertook a number of Barberini commissions, for the busts of the Pope (see Plate 145 below), of the Pope's uncle Francesco Barberini (see Plate 144 below),

below), for a memorial and statue to the Pope's brother, Carlo Barberini (d. 1630, former carved in 1630 for S. Maria in Aracoeli, latter carved in the same year in association with Algardi, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori) and for a memorial statue of Urban VIII in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (after 1635). Bernini reaches full maturity as a portraitist with the two busts of his early patron Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the Galleria Borghese (see Plate 148 below) and the head of Costanza Buonarelli (Museo Nazionale, Florence, ca. 1636). A bust of King Charles I (lost) was carved in 1636-7, and was followed by a second bust of an Englishman, Thomas Baker (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), and a portrait of Richelieu (Louvre, 1640-1). Bernini's most important sculptures of the 1640s are the Ecstasy of St. Teresa in the Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria (see Plates 150, 151 below) and the Truth Unveiled in the Galleria Borghese (see Plate 152 below). From this time on he tended increasingly to act as designer rather than executant; he designed but did not execute the high altar of S. Francesca Romana (in large part destroyed, 1644-9), the Raimondi Chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio (completed 1648), the colossal project for the decoration of the pilasters of St. Peter's (initiated 1645, completed end of 1648), the Noli Me Tangere in SS. Domenico e Sisto (after 1649), the Fountain of the Four Rivers (see Plate 153 below), and the tomb of Cardinal Pimentel in S. Maria sopra Minerva (after 1653). The autograph works of this period, the bust of Francesco I d'Este at Modena (see Plate 149 below) and the Daniel and Habakkuk in the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo, are none the less of notably high quality. After the election of Pope Innocent X (1644) Bernini suffered a temporary estrangement from the papal court, and the work of Algardi was preferred, but the breach appears to have been healed by the Fountain of the Four Rivers. Innocent X's successor, Alexander VII, proved one of the sculptor's most liberal and imaginative patrons, and was responsible, among much else, for the commissions for the Cathedra Petri (see Plate 155 below), the church of S. Andrea al Quirinale and the churches at Castel Gandolfo and Ariccia, the Chigi Chapel in the Duomo at Siena (see Plate 156 below), the statues over the colonnades of St. Peter's (after 1659), and the Scala Regia of the Vatican (1663-6). In 1665, Bernini visited France, carving the bust of Louis XIV (completed 5 October 1665) and thereafter returning to Rome, where he supervised the completion of the Cathedra and undertook his only equestrian figures, the Constantine on the Scala Regia of the Vatican (unveiled 1 November 1670) and the Louis XIV for Versailles (unfinished till 1677, subsequently modified by Girardon). To this late phase belong three great collaborative projects, for the Angels on the Ponte Sant'Angelo (see Plate 157 below), the tomb of Pope Alexander VII (see Plate 147 below), and the Altar of the Sacrament in St. Peter's

(1673-4), as well as Bernini's only late portrait sculpture, the magnificent figure of Gabriele Fonseca in S. Lorenzo in Lucina (ca. 1668), and one of his finest autograph works, the Death of the Beata Lodovica Albertoni in S. Francesco a Ripa (see Plate 158 below). At the time of his death (28 November 1680) Bernini was engaged on a half-length figure of the Salvator Mundi.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A volume by Fraschetti (*Il Bernini*, Milan, 1900), for long the standard monograph on Bernini, has been in large part superseded, but contains a wealth of background information and some reproductions that are not available elsewhere. The modern phase in Bernini's studies (in the course of which Bernini's work has been more strictly analysed than that of any Italian sculptor save Donatello and Michelangelo) opens with a classical volume by Brauer and Wittkower on the artist's drawings (*Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1931) and culminates in an exemplary monograph by Wittkower (*Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, London, 1955). The best account of Bernini's activity as a decorator and architect is that of Wittkower (in *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, London, 1958). The principal early sources for Bernini's career are the lives of Baldinucci (1682, reprinted as *Vita di Gian Lorenzo Bernini scritta da Filippo Baldinucci*, ed. Samek Ludovici, Milan, 1948) and Domenico Bernini (*Vita del Cavalier Gio. Lorenzo Bernino*, Rome, 1713, no modern reprint), and Chantelou's *Journal du Voyage du Cav. Bernini en France* (Paris, 1885, modern edition incomplete). No article of major importance dealing with Bernini's work has appeared since 1958, and the bibliographies in Wittkower's two volumes are therefore comprehensive. Of the single books and articles published before 1958 special reference should be made to Faldi's analysis of the documentary background of the early works (in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, pp. 140-6, 310-6, and *Galleria Borghese: le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954), Battaglia's remarkable study of the Cathedra (*La Cattedra berniniana di San Pietro*, Rome, 1943), a lecture by Wittkower on the Louis XIV bust (*Bernini's Bust of Louis XIV*, London, 1951), an early article by Voss on the fountains ('Berninis Fontänen', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxxi, 1910, pp. 99-129, in part superseded by later literature), Hecksher's iconographical examination of the Elephant and Obelisk outside Santa Maria sopra Minerva ('Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', in *Art Bulletin*, xxix, 1947, pp. 155-82), and Panofsky on the Scala Regia of the Vatican ('Die Scala Regia im Vatikan und die Kunstschausungen Berninis', in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xl, 1919, pp. 241-78). Articles of less general interest are noted below.

Plate 139: AENEAS, ANCHISES AND  
ASCANIUS LEAVING TROY  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

Baldinucci states that the Aeneas and Anchises was made for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, 'e fu questa la prima opera grande, ch'egli facesse, nella quale quantunque alquanto della maniera

di Pietro suo padre si riconosca, non lascia però di vedersi, per le belle avvertenze, ch'egli ebbe in condurla, un certo avvicinarsi al tenero e vero, al quale fino in quell'età portavalo l'ottimo gusto suo, ciò che nella testa del vecchio più chiaramente campeggia. Onde maraviglia non è che lo stesso porporato di subito gli ordinasse una statua d'un David, di non minor grandezza della prima' (and this was the first large work he did. Though one notices something of the manner of his father Pietro in it, yet in the fine accuracy with which he carried it out one clearly distinguishes a certain approach to sensitivity and truth, and it is to these qualities that from this time on his excellent taste led him, as is particularly clear in the head of the old man. So it is not surprising that the same Cardinal at once commissioned from him a statue of David, no less large than this first group). The group is described by Domenico Bernini as a work executed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini at the age of nineteen, that is in 1617. Already in the seventeenth century, however, there was some doubt as to the authorship of the group, and it is mentioned by Sandrart in his life of Pietro Bernini (*Academie*, 1675, p. 285), apparently on the basis of information culled in Rome in 1629-30, as a work by this sculptor: 'Romae cum duobus filiis et marmore multa sculpsit, internaque praecipue in palatio Vineae Borghesiae oecus magnus in quo multae statuae marmoreae viventium magnitudine majores: & inter alias Aeneas Anchisen patrem e flammis exportans, ex uno marmore arte insigni' (at Rome he carved many things in marble with his two sons, particularly in the palace of the Vigna Borghese, a great house in which there are many marble statues over life-size, including an Aeneas carrying his father Anchises out of the flames, done with excellent art from a single block of marble). The view that the work was designed and executed by Pietro Bernini has been restated in modern times by Longhi ('Precisioni nelle Gallerie italiane,' in *Vita Artistica*, i, 1926, pp. 65-6). For the contrary case, that the group was carved by Gian Lorenzo Bernini without the intervention of his father, see Martinelli ('Contributi alla scultura del Seicento: iv, Pietro Bernini e figli,' in *Commentari*, iv, 1953, p. 146 ff.). Wittkower ('Bernini Studies - i: The Group of Neptune and Triton,' in *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, pp. 68-76) sees the group as a work of collaboration between father and son, in which Gian Lorenzo Bernini had a preponderant share. The date of completion of the group is established by a document (published by Faldi, 'Note sulle sculture borghesiane del Bernini,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, pp. 140-6) showing that on 14 October 1619 a mason, Giuseppe di Giacomo, was paid for the carving of the 'piedistallo della statua di Enea'. A payment of 350 scudi on the same date to Bernini 'per una statua da lui fatta de novo' must therefore also refer to the same group. It is inferred by Faldi (*Galleria Borghese: le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954, pp. 26-9) that the group was carved by Gian Lorenzo Bernini alone, and belongs not to the initial period of close association between father and son, but to a moment about 1620 when Gian Lorenzo's style once more for a short time approximated to that of Pietro Bernini. The validity of this argument is questionable, (i) because the documents offer no indication of the date at which the group was commissioned or begun, and (ii) because the form

argues the intervention of Pietro Bernini both in its ideation (Riccoboni) and in its execution (Wittkower and others). The use of the term 'de nouo' in the payment to Bernini has not been satisfactorily explained; it does not recur in the payments for Bernini's other early statues, but is used in the record of payment for the pedestal ('per hauer refatto di nouo cioè refondato le tre teste di bove'), where it refers to the recarving of an existing work. It has been repeatedly observed that the figure of Aeneas depends from the Minerva Christ of Michelangelo, and that the scheme of the whole group is related to the group on the left of Raphael's fresco of the Burning of the Borgo. The group originally stood on a cylindrical Roman base, the form of which confirms what is also attested by other sources, that initially and till the middle of the nineteenth century it was shown against a wall. For this reason it is planned with a front view and two side views.

*Plate 140: THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE*  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

The date of execution of the group, which was commissioned by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, is established by three documents published by Faldi ('Note sulle sculture borghesiane del Bernini,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, pp. 140-6), recording payments to Bernini in June 1621 of 300 scudi 'a bon conto d'una statua di Plutone che rapisce Proserpina,' and in September of the same year of 100 scudi for the same work. A total of 60 scudi were paid in the summer of 1622 to the mason responsible for the base, and the group was presumably completed by that time. According to Baldinucci, the statue on completion was presented by Cardinal Scipione Borghese to Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi; this is confirmed by payments of September 1622 (also published by Faldi, 'Nuove note sul Bernini,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, p. 315) 'per la portatura della statua di Plutone et Proserpina da Sa.ta Maria Maggiore a Porta Pinciana,' and of July 1623 for the transfer of a statue from the Villa Borghese 'quale fu donata a Ludovisi'. The statue remained in the Villa Ludovisi till 1908, when it was purchased by the state and installed in the Galleria Borghese. Martinelli (*Roma ricercata nel suo sito*, Venice, 1664, p. 137) records that the base (now lost) was inscribed with an epigram by Maffeo Barberini, the future Pope Urban VIII, which read: 'Quisquis humi pronus flores legis, inspice, me saevi ditis ad domum rapi.' Wittkower ('Bernini Studies - I: The Group of Neptune and Triton,' in *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, p. 72, relates the movement of Pluto to a torso in the Capitoline Museum, discovered about 1620, which was restored by Algardi into a Hercules killing the Hydra, and connects the face of Proserpine with the Niobids. A drawing at Leipzig is identified by Brauer and Wittkower (pp. 18-9) as a preliminary study for the group.

*Plate 141: DAVID*  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

The David of Bernini (Fig. 157), like the Aeneas and Anchises, was commissioned by Cardinal Scipione Borghese, and is

described by Baldinucci as follows: 'In quest' opera egli superò di gran lunga se stesso e condussela in spazio di sette mesi e non più, merceccche egli, fin da quella tenera età, come egli era poi solito dire, divorava il marmo, e non dava mai colpo a voto; qualità ordinaria non de' pratici nell'arte, ma di chi all'arte stessa s'è fatto superiore. La bellissima faccia di questa figura che egli ritrasse dal proprio volto suo, con una gagliarda increspatura di ciglia all'ingiù, una terribile fissazione d'occhi, e col mordersi colla mandibula superiore tutto il labro di sotto, fa vedere maravigliosamente espressò il giusto sdegno del giovane israelita, nell'atto di voler con la frombola pigliar la mira alla fronte del gigante filisteo; nè dissimile risoluzione, spirito e forza si scorge in tutte l' altre parti di quel corpo, al quale, per andar di pari col vero, altro non mancava che il moto; ed è cosa notabile, che mentre egli la stava lavorando, a somiglianza di se medesimo, lo stesso Cardinal Maffeo Barberino volle più volte trovarsi nella sua stanza e di sua propria mano tenergli lo specchio' (In this work he surpassed himself altogether, and he completed it in the space of seven months; this was possible only because even from so early an age he devoured, as he used to say later, the marble, and never gave an unnecessary stroke. This is not a quality common to all practitioners of the craft, but rather peculiar to one who has mastered the art itself. The fine face of this figure, done from his own, with strong downward turn of the eyebrows, fearsome set of the eyes, and biting of the lower lip with the teeth, expresses remarkably the just anger of the young Israelite, who is standing in the act of aiming his sling at the forehead of the giant Philistine. The same determination, spirit and vigour appear in every other part of his body which, but for the absence of movement, equals reality. And it is worth recording that, while he was working on it and using his own likeness, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini himself was pleased to visit his room several times and hold the mirror for him in his own hand). The date of the group is established by documents published by Faldi ('Note sulle sculture borghesiane del Bernini,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxxviii, 1953, p. 146), which record (i) the payment to Bernini on 18 July 1623 of sums of 200 scudi 'per conto della scultura d'una statua di Dauid' and of 60 scudi for the marble, and (ii) payments for the base of the figure on 31 January and 2 May 1624. The original base of the figure has disappeared, but it can be established (Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954, pp. 31-3) that it was originally shown against a wall. Wittkower (p. 183) points out that the platform on which the figure stands has been made up in plaster, and was originally irregular, and (in *Burlington Magazine*, xciv, 1952, p. 72) relates the pose to that of the Borghese Fencer in the Louvre, which until 1798 stood in the Villa Borghese.

*Plate 142: APOLLO AND DAPHNE*  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

As established by Faldi, a terminus post quem for the carving of the Apollo and Daphne is supplied by a payment to Bernini authorised by Cardinal Scipione Borghese on 8 August 1622 ('cioue s. 100 per il prezzo di un marmo nuouo da scolpirui una

statua di Appollo et s. 8 per il porto a casa sua'). A further payment of 100 scudi was made on 16 February 1623, when the group was in course of execution. A third payment of 150 scudi was made on 17 April 1624, and a final payment of 450 scudi is recorded in November 1625 ('per saldo . . . del prezzo della statua di Dafne che a scolpito in marmo bianco e fatto condurre in Villa fuori di Porta Pinciana'). The base was also paid for in this year. The group therefore dates from 1622-5 and not, as was previously supposed, from 1621-2. According to Passeri (p. 247), Bernini was assisted by Giuliano Finelli in the execution of the group (for this see also Muñoz, 'Il gruppo di Apollo e Dafne e la collaborazione di Giuliano Finelli col Bernini,' in *Vita d'Arte*, xi, 1913, pp. 33-44). Finelli arrived in Rome in 1622. Work on the group was interrupted by the execution of the David (see Plate 141 above). The group is described by Baldinucci in the following terms: 'Ma il cardinale Borghese, a cui pareva per avventura, siccome era veramente, d'avere in questo grande artefice ritrovato un tesoro, non permesse mai, ch'egli senz'alcuna bell'opera da farsi in proprio suo servizio rimanesse; e così ebbe egli a fare il gruppo della Dafne con il giovane Apollo, e quella in atto d'esser trasformata in alloro. Il volere io qui descrivere le maraviglie, che in ogni sua parte scuopre agli occhi d'ognuno questa grande opera, sarebbe un faticare assai per poi nulla concludere; perchè l'occhio solamente e non l'orecchio ne può formar concetto bastante. Conciossiacosachè e per lo disegno e per la proporzione e per l'arie delle teste e squisitezza d'ogni parte e per la finezza del lavoro, elle è tale che supera ogni immaginazione e sempre fu e sempre sarà agli occhi de' periti e degl'indotti nell'arte un miracolo dell'arte: tanto che ella dicesi per eccellenza la Dafne del Bernino senz'altro più: e bastimi solamente il dire, che non solo subito che'ella fu fatta veder finita, se ne sparse un tal grido, che tutta Roma concorse a vederla per un miracolo, ed il giovinetto artefice stesso, che ancora 18 anni non avea compiti, nel camminar ch'è faceva per la città, tirava dopo di sè gli occhi di tutte le persone, le quali li guardavano e ad altri additavano per un prodigo . . . Ma perchè la figura della Dafne quanto più vera, e più viva, l'occhio casto di alcuno meno offender potesse, allorchè da qualche morale avvertimento ella venisse accompagnata; l'altre volte nominato cardinal Maffeo Barberino operò, che vi fusse scolpito il seguente distico, parto nobile della sua eruditissima mente:

Quisquis amans sequitur fugitivae gaudia formae  
Fronde manus implet, baccas seu carpit amaras'

(But Cardinal Borghese, who believed correctly that in this great sculptor he had found a treasure, never allowed him to remain without some beautiful work to carve, and so he was commissioned to make the group of Daphne and the young Apollo, and to depict her in the act of being transformed into laurel. To describe the marvels that this great work discloses in all its parts to the eyes of everyone would be a useless task, since the eye alone can form an impression of it and not the ear. For its design and proportion, the sentiment of the heads, the exquisiteness of all its parts and the fineness of its handling, it surpasses all imagining, and to the eyes of experienced connoisseurs has always been and always will be a miracle of art.

Suffice it so to say as a standard of excellence, the Daphne of Bernini. I shall only say that when it was shown in its finished state, there arose such a cry that all Rome hurried to see it as though it were a miracle, and the young sculptor, who had not completed his nineteenth year, when he walked about the city, attracted the gaze of all the people, who looked at him and pointed him out to others as a prodigy. . . . Since the figure of Daphne, no matter how truthful and lifelike it was, would be less offensive to the eye of a chaste spectator if it were accompanied by a moral warning, Cardinal Maffeo Barberini arranged that the following distich should be carved on it, the noble fruit of his most erudite mind:

Quisquis amans sequitur fugitivae gaudia formae  
Fronde manus implet, baccas seu carpit amaras).

The inscription on the opposite side of the base was carved by Lorenzo Cardelli in 1785, when the group was moved from its position against a wall into the centre of the room. The original inscription was composed by Maffeo Barberini as Cardinal. Finelli's share in the group has not been determined, and it is likely that this involved general assistance rather than responsibility for the plinth, the foliage or any other specific part of the work. A good summary of the material relating to the group and of the aesthetic problems to which it gives rise, is supplied by P. A. Riedl (*Apollo und Daphne*, Stuttgart, 1960). For the iconography see Stechow (*Apollo und Daphne*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1932, pp. 45-9).

Plate 143: SANTA BIBIANA  
S. Bibiana, Rome

The statue (for the documents concerning which see O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1928, i, pp. 22-30) is first mentioned on 10 August 1624, when a preliminary payment was made to Bernini for the purchase of the necessary marble. The body of the Saint 'in due gran Vasi di vetrogrossio, uniti da una lama di piombo' (in two large vases of thick glass, held together by a lead band) had been discovered by the Chapter of S. Maria Maggiore on 2 March 1624, and was inspected by Pope Urban VIII at the end of July in the same year. In August 1624 an alabaster vase was disinterred containing the bodies of the Saint's mother and sister. On 17 August 1624 instructions were given by the Pope 'che si ristauri in qualche parte la chiesa di Santa Bibiana et che anco si facci una statua di marmo di essa Santa' (for the partial restoration of the Church of S. Bibiana, and the making of a marble statue of this Saint). The reconstruction of the church was completed by 14 November 1626, when the relics were installed, and Mass was celebrated in the new church by the Pope on 28 November 1626. Bernini's statue appears to have been finished by 20 July 1626, when it was inspected by Domenico Passignani and the balance (350 scudi) of the total sum due to the sculptor (600 scudi) was paid. The tabernacle in which the statue is set was also designed by Bernini, along with 'tre casse in bronzo' to which the relics were transferred. No preliminary studies for the statue are known. According to Passeri, Bernini was

assisted in the S. Bibiana, as in the Apollo and Daphne, by Giuliano Finelli. The facture of both statues is uniform, and in neither case can the extent of Finelli's participation be defined.

*Plate 144:*

MONSIGNOR FRANCESCO BARBERINI

National Gallery of Art, Washington,  
Kress Collection

A bust 'di Monsignor Francesco Barberino Zio di Urbano VIII' is listed by Baldinucci in his life of Bernini as in 'casa Barberina'. This bust appears in a Barberini inventory of 1627 (for this see Fraschetti, *Il Bernini*, Milan, 1900, p. 140), and must therefore have been carved before this year. It is mentioned again in a document of 1635 (for this see O. Pollak, *Die Kunstsäigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1928, i, p. 334: 'Robbe andate alla Cancelleria per ordine del Em<sup>mo</sup> Sign. Card. Padrone. . . Una testa di marmo bianco, ciouè testa e busto del Ritratto di Monsign. Francesco Barberini fatta dal Cavalier Bernini') (things gone to the Chancellery by order of His Eminence the Cardinal Padrone. . . A white marble head, that is, portrait head and bust of Monsignor Francesco Barberini, done by the Cavaliere Bernini). The bust is published by Martinelli ('Copolavori noti e ignoti del Bernini; i ritratti dei Barberini, di Innocenzo X e di Alessandro VII,' in *Studi Romani*, iii, 1955, pp. 40-1) from a photograph made while it was still in the Palazzo Barberini, and by Wittkower (pp. 189-90) as in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The handling of the bust and of the cartouche on the base is closely similar to that of the Apollo and Daphne and the S. Bibiana, and would be consistent with a dating about 1624-5. Monsignor Francesco Barberini (d. 1600) had been responsible for the Pope's upbringing, and was his first sponsor in Rome. The bust appears to have formed part of a series of posthumous portraits by Bernini, which included those of the mother and father of the Pope. Unlike these busts, a bust of Antonio Barberini (d. 1559) which is still in Barberini ownership, is ignored by Baldinucci. Its attribution to Bernini, which is accepted by Martinelli and Wittkower, is doubtful, and it is possible that we have here to do with an early work by Finelli carved soon after he joined Bernini's studio in 1622.

*Plate 145: POPE URBAN VIII*  
Heirs of Prince Enrico Barberini, Rome

This bust, which is the finest of Bernini's many portraits of the Pope, is ignored in the earlier Bernini literature, and was published simultaneously by Martinelli ('Copolavori noti e ignoti del Bernini; i ritratti dei Barberini, di Innocenzo X e di Alessandro VII,' in *Studi Romani*, iii, 1955, p. 46-7, reprinted in *I Ritratti di Pontefici di G. L. Bernini*, Rome, 1946) and Wittkower (p. 184). It is tentatively connected by both students with a bust of the Pope described by Teti (*Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*, Rome, 1642, p. 170: 'effigies marmorea a Bernino excupta'), and by Martinelli with a bust mentioned in the inventory of Cardinal Antonio Barberini in April 1644. The

bust is certainly later in date than the life-size bust of the Pope in the collection of Prince Urbano Barberini, which is assigned by Muñoz ('Alcune opere sconosciute del Bernini,' in *L'Arte*, xx, 1917, p. 187), followed by Martinelli and Wittkower, to the years 1623-4. A dating ca. 1630, proposed for the present bust by Wittkower, is more plausible than a dating ca. 1640-2 proposed by Martinelli.

*Plate 146: THE TOMB OF POPE URBAN VIII*

St. Peter's, Rome

The tomb of Pope Urban VIII, which is set in the right-hand niche of the tribune of St. Peter's, consists of a bronze statue of the Pope in benediction raised on a high plinth, a marble and bronze sarcophagus surmounted by a cartellino held in place by a bronze figure of Death, and at the sides, leaning against the ends of the sarcophagus, white marble figures of (left) Charity, and (right) Justice. As erected, it forms a counterpart to Guglielmo della Porta's tomb of Pope Paul III in the corresponding niche on the left (see Plate 99 above). The history of the tomb, which is reconstructed in detail by Brauer and Wittkower (i, pp. 22-5) and more summarily by Wittkower (pp. 193-4), shows that it was destined initially for the niche now occupied by the tomb of Pope Alexander VIII, and that the tomb of Pope Paul III, which as a result of the replanning of the piers beneath the cupola was removed from the niche destined for the Longinus, was intended initially for the niche now occupied by Bernini's monument. The symmetrical treatment of the tombs was decided on late in 1627 or early in 1628. The earliest documents referring to the Urban VIII monument (for which see O. Pollak, *Die Kunstsäigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1931, ii, p. 590-610) date from January and February 1628, when instructions were given by Monsignor Angelo Giori (who was deputed by the Pope to supervise the commission) for the ordering of marble for the tomb. A document of 26 June 1628 refers to Bernini's design for the niche, and payments for the construction of the niche continue till September 1630. The first of the figure sculptures to be completed was the bronze statue of the Pope, for which a model was made in December 1628 or early in the following year. An account prepared by Bernini on 25 March 1630 estimates the cost of the Papal statue (which had not yet been cast) at 3000 scudi, of the figure of Death and the cartellino on the sarcophagus at 1000 scudi, the feet of the sarcophagus at 800 scudi, the gilding at 1000 scudi, and work on the marble tomb-chest at 400 scudi. No estimate is made of the cost of the supporting marble statues, or of the two or three putti by which each of these was to be accompanied. The bronze appears to have been cast at the end of April 1631. A document of 23 April 1631 refers to 'le due statue di bronzo di Nro. Sign.'; the second of these figures was presumably the bronze memorial statue for the Piazza at Velletri (decreed 1627; installed 1633; destroyed 1798). The statue for the tomb was gilded during the summer of 1644. A wooden model of the sarcophagus was prepared early in 1630, and was carried out in marble between August 1630 and December 1642. The epitaph and other bronze components of the sарco-

phagus were made between 1639 and 1644, when they too were gilded. Payments for the figure of Death occur in 1643 and 1644, and casting seems to have taken place in the course of the latter year. Three drawings for this figure are published by Brauer and Wittkower.

The Pope's body was committed to the still unfinished tomb in July 1644 ('Di Roma li 1 Agosto 1644. La sera di Lunedì... si diede sepoltura nel nuovo deposito fatto nella Basilica Vaticana in contro quello di Paolo al Cadavero del Defonto Urbano 8'). The state of the tomb at this time is revealed in a report drawn up on 20 May 1644. According to this, Bernini had prepared the small models for the bronze parts of the tomb and had supervised and retouched the full-scale models, and had made two full-scale models of the statue of the Pope, had made the small model for the Death and retouched the large wax model for this figure, had carved the Charity and would shortly undertake the Justice, and would complete the whole tomb in three years. Wittkower (p. 194) infers that the Charity, though blocked out in 1634, was not carved till 1639, and that the Justice was begun after 1644. The lateral figures were finished off in 1646, and the tomb was unveiled on 9 February 1647. The seated figure of the Pope, the statue of Charity and that of Justice therefore belong to three separate phases of Bernini's development.

Plate 147:

THE TOMB OF POPE ALEXANDER VII  
St. Peter's, Rome

According to Baldinucci, Bernini, towards the end of the reign of Pope Alexander VII, prepared a design for the Pope's tomb, and an autograph model which was approved by the Pope and by his nephew Cardinal Flavio Chigi. This account is confirmed by Domenico Bernini, who reports that his father 'per gratitudine alla memoria di quel principe prese risoluzione di produrlo ancora con l'opera, nonostante la gravezza dell'eta, e lo scemo delle forze, che lo rendevano giornalmente men'abile a somiglianti lavori' (out of gratitude to the memory of that prince, decided to undertake this work, in spite of the advanced age and diminished strength which were making him every day less capable of such tasks). Initially the tomb was destined for St. Peter's. Under Pope Clement IX, however, the project for the tomb was transferred from St. Peter's to S. Maria Maggiore, where it was to be set in a reconstructed choir opposite the tomb of the reigning Pope. Three drawings for the tomb planned for S. Maria Maggiore survive (for an analysis of these see Brauer and Wittkower, pp. 168-71). On the accession of Clement X, his predecessor's plans for the reconstruction of S. Maria Maggiore were abandoned, and the original plan for a tomb in St. Peter's was revived. The position selected was a niche adjacent to the left transept, which was blocked at the sides by columns and had in the centre a door, later modified by Bernini and used in the monument for illusionistic purposes. In the form in which it was executed the tomb comprises a figure of the Pope kneeling on a cushion on a high plinth, in front full-length figures of Charity (left) and

Truth (right), and at the back half-length figures of Justice (left) and Prudence (right). In the centre foreground is a bronze figure of Death holding an hour-glass portrayed as though emerging from the door. A terracotta sketch-model for the figure of Charity in the Pinacoteca at Siena (for which see Vigliardi in *Rassagna d'Arte Senese*, xiii, 1920, p. 36 ff.) was possibly part of the original model submitted to Pope Alexander VII by Bernini. A terracotta model for the figure of the Pope in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, is more closely related to the drawing for the tomb in S. Maria Maggiore than to the monument as executed. The documents relating to the history of the tomb are printed and analysed by Golzio (*Documenti artistici sul seicento nell' archivio Chigi*, Rome, 1939, pp. 107-47). On 16 December 1671 a carpenter was paid for the wooden skeleton of a full-size model of the tomb, and in the following January the sculptor Giovanni Rainaldi was engaged in making full-scale models of the figures of Charity, Truth, Justice, Prudence and Death, from Bernini's small models. Bernini, though he did not intervene directly in the execution appears to have maintained close supervision over the progress of work on the monument. In April a contract was drawn up between the Cardinal and a stonemason by which the latter was bound to provide two blocks of marble of the same exceptional quality as that from which Bernini was at the time carving the equestrian statue of Louis XIV.

The only recorded payment for the monument made to Bernini is a sum of 1000 scudi for the design and model paid on 7 October 1672. The figure of Truth was carved from a block delivered in July 1673, initially by Lazzaro Morelli and subsequently by Giulio Cartari, and appears to have been finished in the summer of 1675. Cartari was also responsible (1677) for executing the figure of Justice, and completed the Prudence (1676) which had been begun by Giuseppe Baratta. At the instance of the Cardinal the figure of Charity was entrusted to the Sienese sculptor Giuseppe Mazzuoli, and was carved in 1673-5. The kneeling figure of the Pope was carved by Michele Maglia (1675-6), assisted by Cartari and another sculptor and was completed in May 1677. In December 1675 provision was made for Lazzaro Morelli's wax model of Death to be cast by the bronze founder Girolamo Lucenti. A payment of 17 March 1673 relates to 'dieci pezzi di diaspro fatto cavare in Trapani' destined for the shroud. The entire tomb was completed by March 1678, when the body of the Pope was transferred from its provisional grave to the new monument. After the monument was completed, exception was taken by the Pope (Innocent XI) to the nakedness of the figure of Truth. Baldinucci records that: 'Questa era interamente ignuda, benchè venisse alquanto adombrata quella nudità dallo scherzare, che le faceva attorno la coltre e dal sole, che le copriva un tal poco il petto; ma perchè femmina nuda, benchè di sasso, ma però di mano del Bernino, non bene si confaceva colla candidezza de' pensieri dell' oggi regnante pontefice, egli stesso si lasciò benignamente intendere, che sarebbe stato di suo gusto che il Bernino nel modo che migliore a lui fusse paruto, l'avesse alquanto più ricoperta' (This figure was completely naked, though this nakedness was to a certain extent shielded by the folds of the shroud round it, and also by the sun which covered some of the breast. But as a naked

woman, even though made of stone and by the hand of Bernini, did not agree with the purity of mind of the present Pope, he let it be known, in a kindly way, that it would have been more to his taste if Bernini had covered it up a little more, in whatever way seemed to him best). A wax model for the drapery of this figure was made by Carcani (10 October 1678), was cast in bronze by Lucenti and was painted white to simulate marble.

Plate 148: CARDINAL SCIPIO BORGHESE  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

The story of Bernini's two busts of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (d. 1633) is told by Baldinucci: 'Anche la santità di papa Paolo V volle di mano di lui il proprio ritratto, dopo il quale ebbe a scolpire quello del cardinal Scipione Borghese di lui nipote; e già s'era condotto al fine del bel lavoro, quando portò la disgrazia che e' si scoprissse un pelo nel marmo, che occupava appunto tutto il più bello della fronte; egli, che animosissimo era e già aveva fatto una maravigliosa pratica nel maneggiare il marmo, a fine di togliere a se stesso e molto più al cardinale la confusione che era per apportargli una sì fatta novità, fattosi condurre in camera un pezzo di marmo di sufficiente grandezza e di conosciuta bontà, senza darne notizia a persona, nel corso di quindici notti, che solamente impiegò in quel lungo lavoro, ne condusse un altro simile, di non punto minor bellezza del primo; poi fattolo portar nel suo studio ben coperto, acciocchè da niuno de' suoi familiari potesse esser veduto, attendeva la venuta del cardinale a vedere il ritratto finito. Comparso finalmente quel signore, e veduto il primo ritratto, del quale, col darsi il lustro, s'era fatto il difetto assai più palese e più sconcio, a prima vista si turbò in se stesso; ma per non contristare il Bernino dissimulava. Fingeava in tanto il ben avveduto artefice di non accorgersi del disgusto del cardinale e perchè più grato gli giungesse il sollievo, ove più grave era stata la passione, il tratteneva in discorsi; quando finalmente gli scoperse l'altro bellissimo ritratto. L'allegrezza, che mostrò quel prelato nel vedere il secondo ritratto senz' alcun difetto, fece ben conoscere quanto era stato il dolore ch'egli avea concepito nel rimirare il primo' (His Holiness Pope Paul V also wanted his portrait done by Bernini, and after this he had to carve one of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the Pope's nephew. This fine work had already been almost completed when a disaster occurred: a crack appeared in the marble, crossing in fact the finest part of the forehead. Bernini, who was quite undaunted and had already carried through a remarkable piece of work in the handling of the marble, so as to avoid for himself and, far more, for the Cardinal the annoyance of bringing him such a piece of news, had brought to his room a piece of marble sufficiently large and of known quality. And without letting anyone know, within fifteen nights, which was all the time he took over the lengthy undertaking, he executed a second one, like the first and in no way less beautiful. Then he had it brought to his studio, carefully covered up so that it could not be seen by any of his household, and waited for the Cardinal to come and see the finished portrait. When this gentleman at last appeared and saw the first portrait, the fault

in which had become after the polishing more obvious and damaging, he was at first sight disturbed; but he concealed it so as not to distress Bernini. In the meantime this resourceful craftsman was pretending not to notice the Cardinal's disappointment and making conversation with him, so that the relief might come to him all the more sweetly for the heaviness of his distress before, when he finally uncovered for him the second fine portrait. The joy the prelate showed at seeing the portrait without any fault made clear how great his sorrow had been when he was looking at the first). The busts remained in Borghese possession until they were acquired in 1892 for the Italian state. The first and earlier of the two busts has a fracture running through the head above the level of the eyebrows and other flaws (for a detailed account of its condition see I. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: le Sculture dal Secolo XVI al XIX*, Rome, 1954, pp. 37-9). Baldinucci's account, if read literally, would suggest that the busts were executed during the lifetime or soon after the death of Pope Paul V (d. 1621). A dating ca. 1632 is, however, advanced by Fraschetti (Bernini, 1900, p. 106 ff.) and has been generally accepted (Faldi, Witkower and others), on the strength of a report of 8 January 1633 from a correspondent of the Este court in Rome that 'il Cau. re Bernini di commissione del Papa, ha fatto in marmo la testa del Card. Borghese, che li ha donato in ricompensa 500 zecchini et un diamante di 150 scudi' (the Cavaliere Bernini with the Pope's commission has made a marble head of Cardinal Borghese, who has paid him 500 sequins and a diamond worth 150 scudi). A payment from Cardinal Borghese to Bernini of 500 scudi on 23 December 1632 seems to refer to the portrait busts (for this see H. Hibbard, 'Un nuovo documento sul busto del Cardinale Scipione Borghese del Bernini,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xlvi, 1961, pp. 101-5). Unconvincing arguments in favour of a dating ca. 1625 are advanced by Modigliani ('I busti del Cardinale Scipione e una scultura Berninesca alla Galleria Borghese,' in *Bollettino d'Arte*, ii, 1908, pp. 66-73). The aggregate effect of the numberless small differences between the two versions of the bust is that in the first the treatment of the features is rather more lively, while in the second (Fig. 178) the handling of the lower part is simpler and more unified. The two busts are closely related to a bust of the same sitter by Algardi, which also appeared in the Borghese sale of 1892 and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It is suggested by O. Raggio ('A rediscovered portrait: Alessandro Algardi's bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese,' in *The Connoisseur*, cxxxviii, 1956, pp. 203-8) that the latter is a posthumous portrait executed some years after Bernini's busts. Domenico Bernini (pp. 133-4) records that Bernini, when engaged upon a portrait, 'non voleva che il figurato stasse fermo, ma ch'ei colla sua solita naturalezza si movesse, e parlasse, perchè in tal modo, diceva, ch'ei vedeva tutto il suo bello, e'l contrafaceva com'egli era, asserendo, che nello starsi al naturale immobilmente fermo, egli non è mai tanto simile a se stesso, quanto è nel moto, in cui consistono tutte quelle qualità, che sono sue, e non di altri, e che danno la somiglianza al Ritratto' (did not wish his sitter to stay still but rather to move and talk naturally and in his usual way, since by this means, he said, his beauty could be seen as a whole; and he represented the sitter as he was, affirming that when in

life he stays immovably still he is never as like himself as when he is in movement, in which lie all those qualities that are his and no other man's and give the portrait its *verisimilitude*). Bernini's habit of making life drawings in preparation for his portraits is also mentioned by Pascoli. A drawing of Cardinal Scipione Borghese in right profile in the Morgan Library, New York, apparently made in connection with the two portrait busts, is discussed by Brauer and Wittkower (i, pp. 29-30).

*Plate 149: FRANCESCO I D'ESTE*  
Pinacoteca Estense, Modena

The first reference to Bernini's bust of Francesco I d'Este occurs on 8 July 1650, when the Duke wrote to his brother, Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, asking for an answer to an earlier letter 'intorno al mio Ritratto in profilo, e del Cuneo e della Statua da farsi dal Bernino' (about my profile portrait, and the quoins and the statue that Bernini is to make) (for this and other documents see Fraschetti, *Il Bernino*, Milan, 1900, pp. 221-6). On 16 July 1650 the Cardinal wrote from Rome stressing the difficulty of securing a portrait from Bernini, but adding 'questo col bastantemente remunerarlo si può adempire' (it can be managed if he is paid enough). A week later, on 22 July 1650, the Duke wrote again from Sassuolo proposing that two busts should be commissioned, one of the Cardinal and one of himself, from Bernini and Algardi 'dichiarandomi di havere il gusto indifferente che il Bernino faccia la mia statua, o quella di V. Em.<sup>20</sup>' (declaring that it is all the same to me whether it is my statue or that of Your Eminence that is done by Bernini). If 'il regalo di cento doble' were insufficient for Bernini, Algardi could be charged to execute both busts. Bernini, however, agreed to undertake the commission, and asked for three portraits of the Duke. Two of these were available in the form of portraits by Sustermanns, who had been sent to Modena by the Grand-Duke Ferdinand II of Tuscany in 1649. By 20 August 1650 the missing full-face portrait for which Bernini asked had been painted by Boulanger, and was ready to be sent to Rome. By this time the bust had already been begun, and according to the Cardinal 'rieschi isquisitamente et certo similissimo alla pittura' (is succeeding exquisitely and is certainly most like the picture). On 31 August 1650 he reported again that 'il Bernino tira avanti il ritratto di V.A. con gran franchezza ma non si può creder la difficoltà di cavare da pitture non egualmente disegnate un rilievo' (Bernini is boldly proceeding with the portrait of Your Highness, but it is incredibly difficult to carve a relief from pictures drawn in different ways). By 21 September 1650 the bust was already far advanced: 'S'affatica il Caval.<sup>re</sup> Bernini a ridurre a fine l'opera sua . . . et in ciò che ne riesce obligato alle proporzioni, come del volto, et in ciò che si concede libero a capricij d'arte, come delle veste e del capello' (The Cavaliere Bernini is labouring to bring his work to an end . . . both those parts, such as the face, which depend on real proportions, and those, such as costume and hair, which are open to the caprices of art). In November there arose the question of payment for the bust, and the Cardinal advised the Duke to present Bernini with 'una di quelle piccole credenze d'Alemagna che possono

importare da circa 7 in 800 scudi' (one of those small German vessels worth about seven or eight hundred scudi). Early in January the Cardinal again reported that the bust was almost finished, but that it could not be despatched until Bernini had received the Duke's gift. The Duke replied that he had sent to Germany for the 'credenza di argenti', but had not procured it since the prices were so high; he now proposed instead to send the money to the Cardinal. By the summer of 1651 the bust was still unfinished, and the Duke returned to the project of two busts, both by Bernini, at a price of 1000 ducatoni. On 16 September 1651, however, the Cardinal reported that the bust was finished: 'A me pare cosa bellissima, ma in quanto alla naturalezza non ne so dar conto, essendo sette anni che non ho veduto Sua Altezza' (I think it is a most beautiful thing, but I cannot judge as to its truth to nature, for I have not seen Your Highness for seven years). Bernini, in showing him the bust, had declared 'che mai più vuole far Ritratti di Scultura cavati dalla Pittura, essendo cosa laboriosa e difficile da incontrare; che vi ha consumato nell'opera mesi quattordici' (that he never again wants to do sculptured portraits carved after paintings, as it is a laborious business and difficult to achieve; and that he has spent fourteen months on the work). On completion the bust was exhibited in Bernini's studio. The Duke thereupon enquired how large a sum the Pope had paid to Bernini for the large fountain in the Piazza Navona, and in November after the bust arrived in Modena sent him an equivalent amount (3,000 scudi). This was acknowledged by Bernini on 13 January 1652.

*Plates 150, 151: THE ECSTASY OF ST. TERESA*  
S. Maria della Vittoria, Rome

Bernini's most celebrated work, the Ecstasy of St. Teresa (Fig. 163) is described by Baldinucci as follows: 'In quel tempo stesso fece vedere a Roma le più bell'opere che facesse mai. Tali furono primieramente il disegno della cappella del cardinal Federigo Cornaro nella chiesa di S. Maria della Vittoria de' padri Carmelitani Scalzi, non lungi da Porta Pia, e quel ch'è più, il mirabil gruppo della S. Teresa coll'angelo, il quale mentre ella è rapita in un dolcissimo estasi, collo strale dell'amor divino gli ferisce il cuore, opera, che per gran tenerezza e per ogni altra sua qualità fu sempre oggetto d'ammirazione, nè io voglio estendermi in lodarla, bastandomi per ogni maggior lode il raccontare, che il Bernino medesimo era solito dire, questa essere stata la più bell'opera che uscisse dalla sua mano. L'acutissimo ingegno del nominato monsignor Pier Filippo Bernino, figliuolo del cavaliere, ammirando anch'egli questa degnissima fattura, in lode di quella diede fuori i seguenti versi:

Un si dolce languire  
Esser dovea immortale;  
Ma perchè duol non sale  
Al cospetto divino,  
In questo sasso lo eternò il Bernino.'

(At the same time he exhibited at Rome the most beautiful works he ever made. These were first the design of the chapel of Cardinal Federigo Cornaro in the church of S. Maria della Vittoria of the Discalced Carmelites, not far from the Porta

Pia, and what is more, the wonderful group of St. Teresa with the angel, who pierces her heart with the arrow of divine love while she is caught up in a most sweet ecstasy. For its tenderness and for its many other qualities this work has always been an object of admiration, and I do not wish to praise it at length. It suffices to record that Bernini himself was accustomed to say that this was the most beautiful work that ever left his hand). Federigo Cornaro, who had been created Cardinal in 1626, moved from Venice to Rome in 1644, and the commission for the Cornaro Chapel in the left transept of S. Maria della Vittoria, of which the St. Teresa is the central feature, is generally assumed (Fraschetti, Brauer-Wittkower, Wittkower) to date from this time. The architecture of the chapel seems to have been completed by 1647 (Wittkower), when a commemorative medal was struck by Travani, but the complex was not finished till 1652 (see *Roma*, xvi, 1938, p. 528). Four drawings at Leipzig (for which see Brauer-Wittkower, pls. 23b, 24a, 24b, 25a) are early studies for the figure of St. Teresa, and have been conjecturally dated in 1645. The figures are set on an elliptical stage framed by polychrome marble columns, against a polychrome ground, and are lit from above through a window of yellow glass. Over the lateral doorways are illusionistic reliefs, each with four half-length figures of members of the Cornaro family; a sketch for the left hand relief is in the Fogg Art Museum. Baldinucci, in his catalogue of Bernini's works includes 'l'ultimo Cardinal Cornaro alla Madonna della Vittoria'. This is identified by Wittkower with the head of the Doge Giovanni Cornaro on the extreme right of the left relief. Baldinucci's reference, however, can only be to the figure of Cardinal Federigo Cornaro to the left of this head, which is by the same studio hand as the remainder of the reliefs. The relevance of these figures is not to the group behind the altar but to the altar itself. The programme of the chapel is completed by a ceiling fresco by Abbatini, showing a vision of the Holy Ghost, and by two inlaid skeletons on the floor.

Plate 152: TRUTH UNVEILED  
Galleria Borghese, Rome

The Truth Unveiled was planned by Bernini as part of a two-figure group of Truth revealed by Time, conceived as a result of the reversal of his fortunes in 1646 after the death of Pope Urban VIII and the accession of Pope Innocent X. The genesis of the group is connected by Domenico Bernini (p. 80) with the destruction of Bernini's Campanile at St. Peter's and with the campaign of calumny of which this was the climax. Baldinucci appears to have been unaware of the origin of the group, which he dates in the vicinity of the Modena bust (1650-1). The terminal date of the Truth is established by a letter of 30 November 1652 to Francesco I d'Este, which reads: 'Al presente (il Bernini) non opera ne s'affatica in altro che in un lavoriere suo proprio che dice che vuol che resti per memoria nella sua casa. L'opera sarà grande assai, cioè le figure molto più del naturale, et il pensiero è bellissimo. Rappresenta la Verità, che è una donna ignuda coricata sopra di un scoglio in atto ridente, che tiene nella mano destra uno scudo col sole scolpito di dentro.

Sopra di essa in aria si vederà il Tempo che sosterra un panno, col quale stara coperta la Verità, mostrando di haverla scoperta. Per compire detto Lavoro egli dice che per lo meno vi correrà lo spatio di otto anni, e poco altro ha pensiero che faccia il suo scalpello' (At present Bernini is working and labouring solely on a work of his own, which he says he wishes to stay in his own house as a memorial. The work will be very large, the figures in fact much more than life-size, and the conception is most beautiful. It represents Truth, a nude woman, reclining on a bank, smiling and holding in her right hand a shield with the sun carved on it. In the air over her is Time, holding a veil which will be Truth's covering, showing that he has uncovered her. He says he will take at least eight years to complete this work, and is thinking of nothing else but using his chisel). The figure of Time was not begun, and the block for this was in Bernini's studio at his death. In Bernini's will the Truth unveiled was bequeathed in trust to his family to be preserved in perpetuity in his house (for this see Fraschetti, p. 176: 'E perchè delle mie opere non senza ragione ho ritenuta appresso di me la Statua delle uerità scoperta dal Tempo, perciò cadendo questa Statua sotto la presente Dispositione Testamentaria uoglio che stia in Casa, dove habitarà il Primogenito per hauer sempre, et in perpetuo una memoria nella mia descendenza della mia Persona come ancora perchè guardando quella tutti li miei discendenti potrano ricordarsi che la più bella uirtù del mondo consiste nella uerità, e che è necessario operare con La uerità perchè alla fine questa viene discoperta dal tempo') (Since out of the number of my works I have deliberately kept by me the statue of Truth uncovered by Time, and as this statue comes under this present testament, I desire that it should remain in the house where the firstborn of my family resides, so that my descendants shall have always and in perpetuity a memorial of me; and also so that all my descendants may remember that the finest virtue on earth is Truth, and that one must always act with Truth, since in the end it is uncovered by Time). The statue was deposited at the Galleria Borghese in 1924, and was purchased by the state in 1957. It appears that Bernini's determination to complete the group did not lapse when he regained papal favour, and as late as 1665 he mentioned to Chantelou his intention of carving the missing figure of Time. Evidence of his intentions is provided (i) in a chalk drawing at Leipzig (for which see Brauer and Wittkower, i, pp. 45-6, ii, pl. 20), (ii) two further sheets at Leipzig for the figure of Truth (Brauer and Wittkower, ii, pl. 21a, b), (iii) an account by the artist reported by Chantelou ('M. de Créqui a parlé ensuite de sa statue de la Vérité, qui est chez lui, à Rome, comme d'un ouvrage parfaitement beau. Le Cavaliere dit qu'il l'a fait pour le laisser à sa maison, que la figure du Temps, qui porte et montre cette Vérité, n'est pas achevée; que son dessein est de la représenter la portant par l'air, et de montrer par même-moyen des effets du temps, qui ruine et consume enfin toutes choses: que dans son modèle il a fait des colonnes, des obélisques, des mausolées, et que ces choses, qui paraissent renversées et détruites par le Temps, sont celles qui le soutiennent en l'air, et sans lesquelles il n'y pourrait être, "quoiqu'il ait des ailes", a-t-il dit en riant. Il a ajouté qu'à la cour de Rome c'est présentement un commun proverbe de dire: "La Vérité n'est que chez le Cavalier Bernin"') (M. de

Créqui then spoke of his statue of Truth, in his house at Rome, as an entirely beautiful work. The Cavaliere said that he had done it to leave to his family, and that the figure of Time carrying and revealing this Truth has not been carried out. He said that his intention is to show it carrying Truth through the air, and to show in the same way some effects of Time, which in the end destroys and consumes everything. He also said that in his model he has made columns, obelisks and tombs, and that it is these objects, giving the appearance of being overturned and destroyed by Time, which support it in the air, and that without them it could not be there, 'even with its wings', he said with a laugh. He added that at present a current bon mot at the court of Rome is to say: 'Truth is only to be found at Cavaliere Bernini's'.

Plate 153: FOUNTAIN OF THE FOUR RIVERS  
Piazza Navona, Rome

A detailed account of the story of the Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi (Fig. 174), of the structure of the fountain and of its iconography is given by Baldinucci: 'Tanto poteron le sinistre impressioni state fatte dagli emuli del Cavaliere nella mente di quel Pontefice (Innocent X), che avendo egli deliberato di alzare in Piazza Navona la grande Aguglia condotta già a Roma dall'Imperadore Antonio Caracalla, stata gran tempo sepolta a Capo di Bove, per finimento d'una nobilissima fontana, fecene fare a' primi Architettori di Roma diversi disegni, senza, che al Bernino fusse dato ordine alcuno. Ma come è grande oratrice la vera virtù a benefizio di chi la possiede, e quanto bene parla per sè! Il principe Niccolò Lodovisio che era congiunto in matrimonio con una nipote del Papa, e col Bernino avea non pure domestichezza, ma anche autorità, il contrinse a farne anch'esso un modello, e fu quello in cui egli rappresentò i quattro Fiumi principali del Mondo: il Nilo per l'Africa, il Danubio per l'Europa, il Gange per l'Asia ed il Rio della Plata per l'America, con un masso, o scoglio forato, che sostener dovesse la grandissima Aguglia. Fecelo dunque il Bernino, ed il principe operò, ch'è fusse portato in Casa Panfilia in Piazza Navona, e qui vi situato segretissimamente in una Camera, per la quale il Papa, che un tal giorno era per andarvi a desinare, nel partirsi da mensa, dovea far passaggio. In quel giorno stesso, che fu il giorno della Annunziazione di M.(aria) V.(ergine) dopo la Cavalcata comparve il Papa, e già finito il desinare, passò insieme col Cardinale, e la cognata Donna Olimpia per quella camera ed in vedere una così nobile invenzione ed un disegno per una mole così vasta, rimase quasi estatico; e consciossiacosachè egli Principe fusse di chiarissimo intelletto e di altissime idee, dopo essersi trattenuto attorno al modello sempre ammirandolo, e lodandolo per lo spazio di mezz' ora e più; alla presenza di tutta la camera segreta proruppe in così fatta sentenza: 'Questo è un tiro del Principe Lodovisio; bisognerà pure servirsi del Bernino a dispetto di chi non vuole, perchè a chi non vuol porre in opera le cose sue, bisogna non vederle'; e subito mandollo a chiamare, e con mille dimostrazioni di stima, e d'amore, e con tratto maestoso, quasi scusandosi con esso, addussegli le cagioni, ed i varj rispetti, per i quali egli infino a quel tempo non s'era servito di lui, e la commessione gli diede

di far la fonte secondo il proprio modello . . . (La fonte) . . . si annovera fra le più maravigliose invenzioni del Bernino, per cui alla Città di Roma sì bello ornamento risultò. Nel bel mezzo dunque della lunghezza e larghezza della gran Piazza Navona giace in sul suolo uno scaglione, o grado, che vogliamo chiamarlo, il quale forma un gran tondo di diametro in pianta di circa a 106 palmi romani. Questo in distanza dalle sue estremità circa a 10 palmi contiene in se una gran vasca figurata, cred'io, per lo Mare, nel mezzo del quale s'innalza per circa 30 palmi un masso, o vogliamo dire uno scoglio composto di travertino, che dai lati è traforato, onde da quattro bande lascia libero per entro quell'apertura il luogo, per cui la Piazza veder si possa. Mediante tali aperture viene lo scoglio ad aprirsi in quattro parti, che nella sommità di esso restano fra di loro unite e congiunte e son fatte per rappresentare le quattro parti del Mondo. Queste nel dilatarsi che fanno, e nello sporgere la pianta in fuori con certi scoscesi massi, danno luogo a potervi sopra sedere quattro grandissimi Giganti fatti di bianco marmo figurati per li quattro nominati Fiumi. Il Nilo per l'Africa, e questo si cuopre con un certo panno la testa dal mezzo in su, per denotare l'oscurità, nella quale è stato per gran tempo il luogo appunto, ove egli vien partorito dalla terra e appresso vi ha una bellissima palma. Il Danubio per l'Europa in atto di ammirare il maraviglioso Obelisco, e quelli ha presso un Leone. Il Gange per l'Asia con un gran ramo in mano per denotare l'immensozza dell' acque sue, e poco sotto ha un Cavallo. Finalmente il Rio della Plata per l'America figurato in un Moro, appresso al quale vedonsi alcuni danari per significare la ricchezza de' metalli, di che abbonda quel Paese, e sotto di sè ha uno spaventoso mostro, che il Tatù dell'Indie volgarmente è nominato; e da presso a tutti i Fiumi scaturiscono acque in gran copia tolta della fontana di Trevi. Al piano dell'acqua della vasca vedonsi alcuni gran pesci quasi in atto di squizzar per lo Mare, tutti bellissimi; uno di questi, che è quegli appunto ch'è verso la Piazza degli Orsini, mentre dimostra di abboccar l'acqua per sostentare sua vita, viene a riceverne in se tutto il soverchio, e a darle sfogo; concetto per vero dir è ingegnissimo. Lo scoglio è composto in modo, ch'è par tutto d'un sol pezzo, e da non potersi mai per veruno accidente spezzare, conciossiacosachè tutte le congiunzioni de' pezzi siano tagliate a coda di rondine, ed in tal modo incassate, che l'una all'altra fa legatura, a tutte le legature concertano per tenere insieme il tutto. In su'l bel mezzo della parte superiore dello scoglio posa maravigliosamente in altezza di circa 23 palmi il piedistallo, sopra il quale è ferma la grand'Aguglia di circa palmi 80; sopra questa vedesi in altezza di circa 10 palmi un bel finimento di metallo, sopra il quale una Croce dorata risplende, e sopra essa graziosamente campeggia la colomba coll'ulivo in bocca, che è l'arme di casa Panfilia, e non cagiona poca maraviglia il vedere come una così smisurata mole sia retta sopra lo scoglio così forato e diviso, e come (per parlar co' termini dell'arte) ella si regga tutta in falso. . . . In questo gran lavoro sono di tutta mano del Bernino lo scoglio tutto e la palma, il leone, e mezzo il cavallo. Fu il Nilo opera della mano di Jacopo Antonio Fancelli, il Gange di Monsù Adamo, il Danubio di Andrea detto il Lombardo, ed il Rio della Plata di Francesco Baratta. E' però vero, che in questo Gigante e nel Nilo diede molti colpi di sua

mano lo stesso Bernino' (The Cavaliere's rivals had been able to influence the mind of the Pope so much against him, that when he considered, as the crowning touch for a magnificent fountain, the raising in the Piazza Navona of the great obelisk which the Emperor Caracalla had brought to Rome, and which had for a long time lain buried in Campo di Bove, the Pope, while he had the other leading architects of Rome prepare different designs, gave no order to Bernini to do so. But how well true talent speaks on the side of its possessor, and how well too for itself! Prince Niccolò Ludovisi, who was married to a niece of the Pope's, and was not only an intimate friend of Bernini but also had influence over him, persuaded him to make a model as well. It was that in which he represented the four principal rivers of the world: the Nile for Africa, the Danube for Europe, the Ganges for Asia, and the Rio della Plata for America, with a mound or tunnelled rock to support the great obelisk.

Bernini made the model and the prince had it taken to the Casa Pamilia in the Piazza Navona, and secretly placed there in a room through which the Pope, who sometimes came to dine there, would have to pass when leaving the table. On that very day, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin, after the cavalcade, the Pope arrived and, having dined, passed in the company of the Cardinal and his kinswoman Donna Olimpia through that room. And when he saw so magnificent an invention and a design for such a vast construction, he went almost into ecstasy. And since that Prince was of great intelligence and high ideals, after spending half an hour or more around the model, continually gazing at it and praising it, he burst out in the presence of the whole Camera with the following remark: 'This is a plot of Prince Ludovisi's; but we shall have to make use of Bernini, in spite of those who do not wish it, because if one does not want his things put into execution, one must just not see them.' He had Bernini summoned at once and, with many signs of respect and affection, with great condescension almost apologising, he explained the various reasons for his not having made use of him before; and he commissioned him to construct the fountain according to his own model. . . .

The fountain . . . is one of Bernini's most admirable inventions and . . . is a beautiful ornament of the City of Rome. Exactly in the centre of the Piazza Navona lies a step or raised level, so to speak, which forms a great circle about 106 Roman palmi in diameter. About 10 palmi from its outside edge it contains a great basin representing, in my opinion, the sea. In the middle of this a mass, or, let us say, a cliff, made of Travertine rises about 36 palmi high; this is tunnelled through from all four sides in such a way that one can from any one side see through these openings to the other side of the Piazza. On account of these holes the cliff falls into four sections, joined and united at the top, and these represent the four continents of the World. Broadening and jutting out with abruptly falling blocks of stone, they give room for four very large giant figures of white marble to be set above, representing the four rivers I have mentioned.

The Nile stands for Africa, and covers the upper part of its head with a cloth, denoting the obscurity which long reigned over the exact point where it springs from the earth; next to it is a fine palm tree. The Danube, representing Europe, is gazing

at the stupendous obelisk and has a lion near it. The Ganges, for Asia, has a large oar in its hand, denoting the extent of its waters, and, a little below it, a horse. Lastly, the Rio della Plata, for America, is represented by a Moor; next to it are some coins to show the wealth of minerals abounding in that country, and it has beneath it a terrible monster, commonly known as the Indian Tatu or armadillo. Round all these figures water spouts, led here from the Trevi Fountain. And at the level of the water in the basin there are some large fish, apparently gliding through the sea, and all of them most beautiful. One of them, on the side towards the Piazza Orsini, seems to be swallowing the water necessary for its life, and then blowing out the excess, a truly brilliant conceit.

The cliff is so constructed that it seems to be all of one piece, and cannot break into pieces through some accident, because all the joins of the blocks are dovetailed and so connected that one acts as bond for another, and all join in holding the whole together. Exactly in the middle of the upper part of the cliff stands, in a remarkable way, the pedestal, about 23 palmi high; and on this rests the great obelisk, about 80 palmi high. It has a fine metal tip of about 10 palmi, and above this a gilt cross shines; and above this again rests the dove with an olive-branch in its beak, the emblem of the Pamili family. It is astonishing to see how so huge a construction has been erected on so tunnelled and divided a rock, and how (to speak in artistic terms) the whole thing is a counterfeit. . . .

In this great work, the whole cliff, the palm tree, the lion and half of the horse are altogether from the hand of Bernini. The Nile is by the hand of Jacopo Antonio Fancelli, the Ganges by Monsù Adamo, the Danube by Andrea Lombardo, and the Rio della Plata by Francesco Baratta. Yet it is true that, in the case of this last great figure and that of the Nile, Bernini himself gave many of the strokes with his own hand).

The project for ornamenting the Piazza Navona with fountains goes back to Pope Gregory XIII, who constructed at the south end the fountain now known as the Fontana del Moro with four figures of tritons by Leonardo da Sarzana, Flaminio Vacca, Silla da Viggù and Taddeo Landini, and in a corresponding position at the north end a basin of similar shape without sculptured decoration, known as the Fontana dei Calderari. In the centre of the square between them was placed a rectangular basin designed for watering horses. The siting of these fountains is shown, e.g., in an engraving by Tempesta of 1593. The position of the central trough determined the position of Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers, which is set in the centre of the square and is not related to the façade of S. Agnese in Agone. In 1645 (Wittkower), and certainly before 1647, Pope Innocent X conceived a plan for diverting water from the Acqua Vergine to the Piazza Navona; in the relevant rescript Borromini is named as the architect of this work. From this time on the plan for the fountain was associated with Pope's intention to erect in Piazza Navona a recently discovered obelisk, which he visited on 27 April 1647 ('Giovedì doppo desinare il Papa fu a S. Sebastiano per vedere nella Naumachia di Claudio distrutta, sta rovinato per terra un obelisco grandissimo per farlo risarcire et erigerlo in mezzo Piazza Navona imitando in ciò li vestigij di Sisto V') (After dinner on Thursday

the Pope was at S. Sebastiano to see in the ruined Naumachia of Claudio a large obelisk lying in pieces on the ground, with a view to its repair and erection, following Sixtus V, in the middle of the Piazza Navona) (Deone, *Diario*, quoted by Fraschetti, p. 180.) The model by Bernini described by Baldinucci must have been made after this time. This is probably identical with a model in wood and gesso (H. 175 cm.) formerly in the Giocondi collection, Rome, published by Brinckmann (*Barock-Bozzetti*, ii, pl. 16, 17), in which the figures are set vertically and are represented supporting stemme. Two bozzetti for the statues of the Nile and River Plate in the Ca d'Oro, Venice, are in general correspondence with the figures as executed. The genesis of the design can be traced through a number of preliminary drawings reproduced by Brauer and Wittkower, of which the most important are (i) a wash drawing at Ariccia (pl. 25b) showing the obelisk rising from the rock with a River God holding a cartouche with the arms of Innocent X in a grotto beneath; (ii) a drawing at Windsor (pl. 27) of two figures with a cartouche with the papal tiara and keys above a shell-shaped basin with a low surround; (iii) a drawing at Leipzig (pl. 28) for the base of the fountain with the obelisk and figures roughly indicated; (iv) a drawing in the Vatican (pl. 29a) for the point of juncture of the obelisk and the rock; and (v) three drawings in Florence, two supposedly for the figure of Nile (pls. 29b, 30) and one for the River Plate (pl. 31), the pose in each case differing in certain fundamental respects from the figures as executed. An undated letter written from Rome by Francesco Mantovani (printed by Fraschetti, p. 180) refers to a silver model prepared by the sculptor for Donna Olimpia Pamphili. A second letter by the same correspondent, dated 25 July 1648 states that work on the foundations of the fountain had been begun, and that the obelisk was broken in six pieces and would require to be repaired before it could be set up. A tax was levied by the Pope to cover the cost of the fountain. According to the *Diario* of Gigli, the pieces of the obelisk arrived in Piazza Navona in August 1648, and it was erected in August 1649. The course of work on the sculptures is recorded in documents printed by Fraschetti (pp. 181-2, supplemented by Wittkower). 'Due forme di gesso dello scoglio' were paid for in September 1648, and the Travertine base was in course of execution by Giovanni Maria Franchi in March 1650. According to a MS. source quoted by Fraschetti, 'detti Lavori tanto d'Animali come di alberi fiori, o piante cauati e scolpiti tutti dal med<sup>mo</sup>. Masso dello Scoglio che regge la Guglia, hanno apportato difficultà e fatiche grandissime, quali credo non si possono molto ben considerare, se non da chi l'ha viste operare in atto pratico' (These operations, which involve the carving of both animals and trees or plants in leaf from the very mass of the cliff supporting the obelisk, have caused very great difficulty and labour; one can hardly appreciate this unless one has seen the work actually in progress). Payments are recorded in the course of 1650-1 for the Nile to Giacomo Antonio Fancelli, the Danube to Antonio Raggi, the Ganges to 'monsù Claudio' (Claude Poussin), and the Rio della Plata to Baratta. Other artists involved in the work were Nicola Sale and Ambrogio Appiani (the former responsible for coats of arms, dove and lily), Giovanni Battista Palombo (palm

and snake), and Abbiatini (colouring of rock, palm and plants). There is no reason to question the statement of Baldinucci that certain parts of the base were executed or recarved by Bernini. Gigli records a visit paid by the Pope after the completion of the fountain in June 1651, when the water was turned on for the first time. The fountain was fully disclosed on 12 June of this year. There is some uncertainty as to the sum paid to Bernini for the fountain, which certainly exceeded the nominal payment of 3000 scudi. According to a report by Giovanni Battista Ruggeri of 18 October 1651, Bernini, when asked 'chi è stato più generoso o Urbano per la Tribuna di S. Pietro, o Innocentio per la Fontana, egli rispose prontamente che Innocentio haveva superato poi che havendole donato 3m. scudi e un Cavalierato a suo fratello, che vale Mille, stando la qualità de tempi, e le strettezze del Papa, egli diceva a tutti che il donativo era stato di 4m. scudi' (who was the more generous, Pope Urban over the Tribune of S. Pietro, or Pope Innocent over the fountain, he readily replied that Innocent was the more so; for, since he had given him 3000 scudi and a knighthood for his brother, which was worth another thousand, in view of the general state of affairs at that time and the Pope's straits, he always said that the reward had been 4000 scudi). The sculptors of the four large figures received 720 scudi each.

*Plates 154, 155: THE CATHEDRA PETRI  
St. Peter's, Rome*

The Cathedra Petri (Fig. 166), Bernini's most important single contribution to St. Peter's, stands in the apse of the church where it is flanked by the tombs (*left*) of Pope Paul III and (*right*) of Pope Urban VIII. It is planned in four registers, which comprise (i) the base with the arms of Pope Alexander VII, (ii) the four colossal bronze figures of (*left front*) St. Ambrose, (*left back*) St. Athanasius, (*right front*) St. Augustine, (*right back*) St. John Chrysostom, (iii) the throne containing the Chair of St. Peter, flanked by two angels and with a relief of the Pasce Oves Meas on the back, (iv) a glory of angels surrounding an oval glass window showing the Holy Ghost. Under Pope Urban VIII the relic of the Sedia was installed in an altar of the basilica carved from models by Flori and Balsinelli (payment of 27 August 1639); a drawing showing the installation of the Sedia at this time, over an altar against a painted background with the Holy Ghost, is preserved in Cod. Barb. Lat. 4409 (Battaglia, pl. VII 1). The Cathedra of Bernini owes its origin to a decision of Pope Alexander VII in April 1656 that the relic should be transferred to the apse of St. Peter's, 'ibique decentius quo poterit ornari remotis Columnis nunc ibi existentibus, et earum loco positis aliis duabus e marmore Cottonelli coloris magis rubri.' In the following year it was decided that the ornamentation of the Cathedra should be of 'aeneum magnificentissimum', and application for the necessary bronze was made to Amsterdam and Venice. On 3 March 1657 Bernini prepared a 'delineamentum' of the Cathedra, and was engaged in assembling a wooden model ('modelletto di legno della nicchia do(ve) va la cattedra'). Bozzetti for the Doctors of the Church were entrusted to Ercole Ferrata, Antonio Raggi and Lazzaro Morelli. In April the model was approved, and a fee of 6000 scudi was

proposed. In August of the same year this was raised to 8000 scudi, at the rate of 200 scudi per month for forty months. The decision to install the relic between the Urban VIII and Paul III tombs was formally announced in March 1657, and provision was made for rare marbles for the base. Work continued through the second half of 1657, and in 1658 a specialist in bronze casting, Peter Verpoorten, was named as assistant to Bernini. Verpoorten, however, died in September 1658, and was replaced by Lazzaro Morelli. Verpoorten appears to have made models for the 'angeli sopra la cattedra', and large models for the Doctors of the Church were prepared by Raggi and Ercole Ferrata in and after June 1658. After this year Raggi's name does not again appear in the documents relating to the Cathedra until 1664. In 1659 or 1660 Bernini appears to have begun work on the site, and in 1660 practical preparations for the casting of the bronzes were started by Artusi. In June of this year, however, it was reported that the available bronze was insufficient, and a search for bronze was instituted in Trieste and Hungary. A wooden model was executed by Carcani in 1659-60, but was criticised by Sacchi as being insufficiently large and imposing. Thereafter the figures were enlarged. Mariani (in *Bollettino d'Arte*, xxv, 1931, pp. 161-72) publishes two sets of models for the angels beside the throne in the Museo Petriano, one (H. 1.55 m.) for the angels in their early reduced form and the other (H. 2.24 and 2.31 m.) for the angels as executed. A reference at the beginning of 1661 to wax models for the Doctors of the Church is probably (Battaglia) to models for the smaller scheme, but by the autumn of this year the full-scale model of the St. Augustine five metres high was in course of preparation. The first casting of this figure was unsuccessful; in November 1661 the figure was cast up to the neck, and the head was cast separately in the following year. Work then proceeded with the St. Ambrose. The last of the statues to be cast was the St. Athanasius (1663). Bernini's principal assistant in these figures was Lazzaro Morelli. By 1665 the Doctors of the Church had been gilded and erected in the church. Morelli, assisted after 1664 by Raggi, was also largely responsible for the Glory above the Cathedra. The Chair proper was cast in 1663; in 1664 Carlo Mattei was engaged on its 'rinettatura', and in 1665 Giovanni Paolo Schor was working on the ornamented section at the base. On 29 April 1665 Bernini left for France, and on his return to Rome found everything in place save the angels on the Chair, the second of which was delivered in December. The Cathedra was disclosed on 16 January 1666, and the relic of the Sedia was transferred to it. On 30 January 1666 Bernini wrote to Chantelou: 'Io per gratia di Dio ho finito l'opera della catedra.'

Plate 156: SAINT JEROME  
Duomo, Siena

In 1658 it was decided to modify the right flank of the Duomo in Siena. The most important feature of this work was the construction of a new Cappella del Voto for the Chigi family designed by Bernini, who is described in a document of 11 June 1662 as 'Architetto di d.a opera' (for the relevant plans and

documents see Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul seicento nell'archivio Chigi*, Rome, 1939, pp. 79-106). Work on the chapel appears to have begun in 1659, with the arrival in Siena of the painter Giovanni Paolo Schor, who was entrusted with the supervision of the work. The whole of the interior decoration of the Chapel, including the frame of the Madonna del Voto over the altar (cast by Artusi and gilded in June 1662), the angels and putti (modelled by Ercole Ferrata and cast by Artusi), the palotto (gilded 1663), arca, bronze gate (installed at the end of 1663), and lapis lazuli inlay on the altar wall, was carried out under the general direction of Bernini. The principal sculptural feature of the Chapel are four marble statues, two (SS. Jerome and Mary Magdalen in niches beside the entrance) by Bernini, and two (SS. Bernardino and Catherine of Siena by Raggi and Ercole Ferrata respectively in niches beside the altar). The correct identification of the statues of Raggi and Ercole Ferrata is due to Pascoli. Payments to Ercole Ferrata and Raggi were made in February and April 1662. Final payments for the four figures date from June 1663, and they were installed in the Cappella del Voto before the feast of the Assumption in the same year. According to Domenico Bernini, Pope Alexander VII visited Bernini's studio to examine the figures before they were despatched to Siena ('L'onore della prima Visita fu confermato di nuovo dalla seconda che fece: poichè havendo il Cavaliere scolpito ad istanza del Pontefice la Statua di S. Girolamo, e di S. Maria Maddalena più grandi del naturale, e fatto il Modello della Statua intiera del medesimo Papa, che poi scolpì in marmo Antonio Raggi detto il Lombardo, tornò di nuovo con ugual pompa in Casa di lui; avanti che fussero portate queste Statue a Siena, over erano destinate') (The honour done by the first visit was reconfirmed by the second he made. For the Cavaliere had, on the Pope's instructions, carved the statue of St. Jerome and that of St. Mary Magdalen over life-size; and when the model of the full-length figure of the same Pope, later carved in marble by Antonio Raggi, called il Lombardo, was finished, the Pope came again with the same pomp to Bernini's house. This was before these statues were carried to Siena, for which town they were intended). The execution of the St. Mary Magdalen is weaker than that of the St. Jerome. Raggi and Ercole Ferrata received 300 scudi each in payment for their work, while Bernini was presented with two silver cups and two crimson damask purses embroidered with gold thread containing 2128 scudi. Three drawings at Leipzig for the St. Jerome are published by Brauer and Wittkower (pl. 50a-c), and a terracotta sketch-model for the head of this figure is in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge. Small terracotta reproductions of this figure (but not of the St. Mary Magdalen) were produced in Siena in some numbers in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Plate 157:  
THE ANGEL WITH THE SUPERSCRIPTION  
S. Andrea delle Fratte, Rome

Soon after his election, Pope Clement IX determined to replace the fourteen stucco statues by Raffaello da Montelupo on the

Ponte Sant'Angelo with ten marble statues of Angels. In order to accelerate the work, the commissions were distributed between Lazzaro Morelli, Antonio Raggi, Paolo Naldini, Cosimo Fancelli, Girolamo Lucenti, Ercole Ferrata, Antonio Giorgetti and Domenico Guidi. It was originally intended that two Angels should be carved by Bernini, and one by each of the remaining sculptors, working under Bernini's general direction and in at least one case from his designs. In the event Bernini's two Angels were not put into position on the bridge, one of them, the Angel with the Superscription, being copied by Giulio Cartari with extensive intervention by Bernini, and the other, the Angel with the Crown of Thorns, by Naldini, who therefore carved two statues. The circumstances which led to this result are described by Baldinucci: 'Aveva egli condotto di sua mano due de' medesimi angeli per dar loro luogo fra gli altri sopra di esso ponte; ma non parve bene a Clemente che opere si belle rimanessero in quel luogo all'ingiurie del tempo; che però fecevere fare due copie e gli originali destinò ed esser posti altrove a disposizione del cardinal nipote. Ciononostante il Bernino ne scolpì un altro segretamente, che è quello che sostiene il titolo della croce, non volendo per verun modo che un'opera d'un pontefice, a cui egli si conosceva tanto obbligato, rimanesse senza una qualche fattura della sua mano. Ciò risaputo il papa, ebbene contento, e disse: "Insomma cavaliere, voi mi volete necessitare a far fare un'altra copia." E qui consideri il mio lettore che il nostro artefice constituito in età decrepita in spazio di due anni e non più condusse le tre statue di marmo intere assai maggiori del naturale, cosa che ai più intendenti dell'arte sembra avere dell'impossibile' (He had himself carved two of the aforesaid angels with his own hand in order to place them with the others on the bridge. But it did not seem right to Clement that works so beautiful should remain there exposed to the injuries of weather, and he therefore had two copies made and gave instructions that the originals should be placed elsewhere and held at the disposition of the Cardinal nephew. Despite this Bernini carved another secretly, namely the Angel with the Superscription, since he was anxious that the commission of a Pope to whom he knew he owed so much, should not lack something by his hand. When he learned this, the Pope, happy as he was, declared: 'You compel me to

have yet another copy made.' And here let my readers consider that our artist, though in a decrepit state, in the space of two years carved three marble statues larger than life, something that even those who understand most about the art of sculpture believed to be impossible).

Work on the commission (for which see Evers, *Die Engelsbrücke in Rom von Gio. Lorenzo Bernini*, Berlin, 1948, and Wittkower, pp. 232-3) was begun after 11 November 1667, when provision for payment was made, and six angels were completed and installed on the bridge by the end of October 1669. The visit of Clement IX to Bernini's studio described by Baldinucci took place on 28 July 1668, and Bernini's second version of the Angel with the Superscription (which is now on the Ponte Sant'Angelo) was completed after 28 October 1671. Payment for one of the two Angels was made on 1 December 1669 to Bernini's son, Paolo Bernini. Wittkower, in an excellent analysis of the commission, argues that it is impossible to discover any difference in quality between the two Angels. The treatment of the drapery is, however, markedly different in the two statues, and it is likely that the Angel with the Crown of Thorns was carved in part by Paolo Bernini. A drawing for the Angel with the Superscription is in the Galleria Nazionale, Rome, and terracotta bozzetti are in the Fogg Art Museum.

Plate 158: THE DEATH OF THE BEATA LODOVICA ALBERTONI  
S. Francesco a Ripa, Rome

According to Baldinucci, the statue of the Beata Lodovica Albertoni was commissioned by Cardinal Paluzzo degli Albertoni, nephew of Pope Clement X, soon after the election of the Pope (20 April 1670). The cult of the Beata Lodovica Albertoni was sanctioned in a papal brief of 28 January 1671. It is established by Wittkower (pp. 236-8) that the work was begun in 1671 and was completed by mid-October, 1674. The altarpiece by Gaulli above and behind it seems to have been painted after the completion of the statue. Bernini's drawings for the frame survive.

STEFANO MADERNO  
(b. 1576; d. 1636)

According to Baglione, Maderno died in 1636 in his sixtieth year, and he was therefore born ca. 1576-7. Initially he practised as a restorer of antiques, making reductions from classical statues many of which were cast in bronze. A number of signed terracotta statuettes by Maderno derived from the antique are known (examples in the Ca d'Oro, Venice, the Hermitage, Leningrad, and elsewhere), and his bronze statuette of Hercules and Antaeus (terracotta model in Ca d'Oro, Venice) achieved

considerable popularity. His earliest large work in marble is the St. Cecilia (see Plate 159 below). Subsequently he executed two putti for the Aldobrandini Chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva, a statue on the exterior of the Cappella Paolina (1608), two statues of Peace and Justice over the high altar of S. Maria della Pace (1614?), and a St. Peter over the entrance of Montecavallo (companion figure by Berthelot). He was also employed on work for the Duomo at Orvieto, and in the interior of the

Cappella Paolina (see Plate 136 above), and worked for the Duomo at Orvieto. The most representative large statue by Maderno is the arid Jacob wrestling with the Angel in the Palazzo Doria, Rome.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** For Maderno see Baglione (pp. 345-6), A. Munoz ('Stefano Maderno', in *Atti e Memorie della R. Accademia di S. Luca*, Annuario 1913-4, iii, Rome, 1915, pp. 1-23) and Venturi (X-iii, pp. 611-8).

*Plate 159: SAINT CECILIA*  
S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome

On 20 October 1599, in the course of work on the high altar of S. Cecilia in Trastevere undertaken by Cardinal Sfondrato, there were discovered two white marble sarcophagi, one of which, on the basis of an inscription of Pope Paschal I, was identified as that of St. Cecilia. Inside the sarcophagus was a cypress coffin, containing the body of the Saint, which is described by Bosio (*Historia passionis S. Caeciliae*, Rome, 1600) as lying on its right side with the face turned towards the ground as though in sleep and clad in a gold embroidered dress. The body was visited on 10 November 1599 by Pope Clement VIII, who gave a sum of 4,000 scudi for a silver casing for the coffin.

On 22 November 1599 the relic was reinterred under the high altar by the Pope. The confessio in front of the high altar was enriched by Cardinal Sfondrato with coloured marbles, onyx, lapis and bronze. The reconstruction of the altar was entrusted to Maderno, who was also responsible for the figure of the Saint, which is placed in a black marble recess as though in an open sarcophagus. The statue was completed by 1600 since it is mentioned by Bosio, but the assumption that it was based on direct study of the Saint's body when this was disinterred is almost certainly incorrect (for this see L. de Lacquer, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique publié par l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse*, xxiv, 1923, p. 218 ff., and Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*, ii-2, 2736). The dimensions of the statue none the less correspond with the recorded dimensions of the body, and Baglione and other early sources describe the pose as 'nell'atto appunto che fu trouata'. It has been suggested (N. von Holst, 'Die Cäcilienstatue des Maderna', in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, iv, 1935, pp. 35-46) that the pose was taken over from an engraving in the British Museum ascribed to the school of Marcantonio. This case (which rests on the assumption that the engraving was produced ca. 1540-80) is unconvincing, and it is likely that the engraving depends from Maderno's statue. The discovery of the body is assigned by Salerno (*Altari Barocchi in Roma*, Rome, 1959, pp. 49-52) to the year 1600. For the correct dates see Pastor (xi, pp. 684-9).

FRANÇOIS DUQUESNOY  
(b. 1597; d. 1643)

François Duquesnoy, known in Italy as Il Fiammingo, was born in Brussels in 1597. Trained by his father, the sculptor Jérôme Duquesnoy the elder, he is said by Bellori to have executed two angels for the façade of the Jesuit church in Brussels, and figures of Justice and Truth for the Hôtel de Ville at Hal, none of which survive. As the result of an application made to the Archduke Albert early in 1618, he received the sum of 600 livres payable in four instalments for study in Italy, whither he went in August of this year. After the death of the Archduke (1621), he practised in Rome as a woodcarver. The foundations of his success were laid by a Flemish merchant, Pieter Visscher, for whom he carved a life-size figure of Venus suckling Cupid (lost). Through Visscher he came to the notice of Filippo Colonna, by whom he was employed on the restoration of antiques, and for whom he carved an ivory Crucifix presented by Colonna to Pope Urban VIII. Urban VIII was in turn attracted by Duquesnoy's ivory carvings, and in 1626 purchased from him a Crucifix and a statuette of St. Sebastian. At this time Duquesnoy became intimately associated with Poussin, who had arrived in Rome in 1624, and like Poussin enjoyed the patronage of Cassiano del Pozzo. Through Sandrart, who arrived in Rome in 1629, he came in contact with Vincenzo Giustiniani, for whom he made three bronze figures of Mercury, Hercules and Apollo, two of which are

probably identical with bronzes now in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz. Duquesnoy's first major commission, for the popular figure of St. Susanna in S. Maria di Loreto, was begun in 1626, and two years later he embarked on the St. Andrew for St. Peter's (see Plate 160 below). Other works of this time are the Vryburgh (1628-9) and Van den Eynde (1640) memorial slabs in S. Maria dell'Anima, and Duquesnoy's most celebrated relief, the Concert of Angels for the Filomarino altar in SS. Apostoli, Naples (installed 1642). In January 1639 Louis XIII of France offered Poussin the post of Peintre Ordinaire, and in October of the same year the post of Sculpteur du Roi was offered to Duquesnoy. In 1640 Chantelou visited Rome to secure Poussin's and Duquesnoy's services. Duquesnoy, however, deferred accepting the proffered post till 1642, and was still in Rome when Louis XIII died (14 May 1643). In June 1643 he left for France, but was taken ill at Leghorn, where he died on 19 July 1643. In the eyes of his contemporaries Duquesnoy's appeal resided first in the strict classicism of his style, most clearly manifest in the St. Susanna, which, according to Bellori, was based on a statue of Urania on the Capitol, and second on his reliefs of putti and mythological scenes.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The standard monograph on Duquesnoy is that of M. Fransolet (*François du Quesnoy, Sculpteur d'Urbain*

VIII, Brussels, 1941), in which the facts are carefully assembled, but which contains a superficial analysis of the sculptor's style. The interpretative deficiencies of this book are in part redressed by an article by I. Faldi ('Le "virtuose operationi" di Francesco Duquesnoy scultore incomparabile,' in *Arte Antica e Moderna*, v, 1959, pp. 52-62), and by Wittkower (*Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, London, 1958, pp. 177-80).

Plate 160: SAINT ANDREW  
St. Peter's, Rome

On 18 November 1626 the basilica of St. Peter's was consecrated by Pope Urban VIII, and six months later (7 June 1627) reference is made for the first time to a project for erecting four altars beneath the niches of the piers supporting the dome (for the documents see O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1931, ii, pp. 426-9), for the celebration of Masses 'massime in quella dove sta sopra il Volto Santo, et il ferro della lancia, et nell'altra, dove si conserva la Testa di Sant'Andrea, con altre sante reliquie' (particularly in the one over the Volto Santo and the iron from the spear, and in the other one where the head of St. Andrew and other sacred relics are preserved). On 15 May 1628 it was agreed that the niches should be systematised according to a design prepared by Bernini. The scheme made provision for four colossal statues of Veronica, Longinus, St. Helena and St. Andrew, and these figures were allotted respectively to Mochi (see Plate 161 below), Bernini, Bolgi and Duquesnoy. The history of the St. Andrew can be reconstructed from documents published by Pollak (loc. cit.) and Fransolet ('Le S. André de François Duquesnoy à la Basilique de S. Pierre au Vatican, 1629-40,' in *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, xiii, 1933, pp. 272-5). An initial sketch for the figure in clay or wax was prepared by Duquesnoy between 7 June 1627 and March 1628, and by 15 May 1628 this was approved by the Pope. A stucco model twenty-two palmi high was begun in May 1629 and was placed in the niche in December of the same year. The full-scale models for the three remaining statues were installed in March 1632. Work on Duquesnoy's marble statue began in May 1633, and in July 1639 the statue was taken to St. Peter's, where it was unveiled before the Pope on 2 March 1640. Owing to a decision of the Congregation of Rites as to the relative status of the four relics involved, Bolgi's St. Helena was given precedence over Duquesnoy's St. Andrew, and the niche in which the marble stands is not that in which the stucco model was shown. It is recorded by Bellori and other sources that Duquesnoy regarded the consequent change of light as prejudicial to the statue. The statue, for which Duquesnoy received a total sum of 3300 scudi, is inscribed on the rock under the raised right foot FRAN. DV QVESNOY BRVSELL. FAC. Bellori's appreciation of the statue reads as follows: 'Stà il Santo Apostolo con la testa elevata in atto di rimirare il cielo: dietro le spalle si attraversa la Croce decussata in due tronchi, & abbracciandone uno con la mano destra, distende aperta la sinistra in espressione di affetto, e di amore diuino nella gloria del suo martirio. Nella quale

attione il Santo espone il petto ignudo col braccio destro, che si attiene al tronco: e'l manto passando dietro la destra spalla, ricade dalla sinistra sopra il braccio, e si rilega al fianco, diffondendosi sotto à mezza gamba, & all'altro piede. Ma più si accresce la bellezza, e l'arte; poichè nell'abbiarsi il manto sotto il petto, viene à cadere in se stesso il panno sopra il panno, mentre staccandosi vn gran lembo dal fianco destro, pende dal sinistro, & insieme dalla mano dilatato in più falde. E tale è l'industria che imitando vn panno lano non graue, anzi arrendebole, e leggiero, esplica sotto le membra; e le pieghe sono à tempo, e con grata corrispondenza ordinate sopra l'ignudo, seguitando la disposizione del corpo in modo elegante. Onde si riconosce questa massima ne' panni di allegerire i rilieui delle membra, e supplire i luoghi vuoti, e che all'intrecciamiento delle pieghe succedano le falde ampie, e spaziose. Quanto l'ignudo, e l'altre parti di questa statua, il Santo nel rimirare il cielo, volge la testa del lato destro, e piega soavemente il petto à sinistra con attione quieta, e riposata. Sichè nell'arretrare alquanto la spalla frà l'vno, e l'altro tronco della croce, espone il petto formato di parti, robuste in qualità di pescatore affaticato, e forte, ma però estenuato dagli anni, espressa nella carne l'ossatura, & i muscoli con risentimenti moderati. L'istessa disposizione serba ancora il volto alquanto dimagrato, ampia, e calua la fronte, la barba inculta, & aperte le labbra nell'affetto diuino. Et operando sola questa figura in luogo si grande, l'attitudine sua è tutta aperta, e magnifica, mentre il braccio destro si solleua al tronco della croce, e si stende il sinistro. Così da questo lato posa il piede in terra, e l'altro si discosta, e si solleva à mezza pianta: onde con raro effetto, sporge in fuori il ginocchio, e si offerisce la coscia pura sotto il semplice panno; tantoche alle ordinate contrapposizioni, e bellezza de' panni, e dell'ignudo l'occhio s'empic d'harmoniche proporzioni, e si destà alla marauiglia' (The Apostle stands with his head raised to gaze at heaven; behind his shoulders goes the cross, its two shafts intersecting, and, holding one of them with his right hand, he stretches out his left, open in the expression of emotion and divine love at the glory of his martyrdom. With this movement the Saint exposes his naked breast and his right arm, stretching out to the shaft of the cross; his mantle passes behind his right shoulder and, falling from above the arm on his left, is fastened at the hip, spreading half down one leg and to the other foot. But the beauty and art go further: for the mantle, arranging itself beneath his breast, falls on itself in fold upon fold of drapery; and one long hem stands out from the right hip and hangs from the left, and is at the same time spread out by the hand in numerous folds. The sculptor's care is such that, imitating a woollen material by no means heavy, even supple and light, he clearly defines the limbs underneath it; the folds are fully arranged with a pleasing conformity over the nude body, elegantly following its attitude. Thus, above all, the drapery mitigates the relief of the limbs, filling in the empty spaces, and there is an alternation of full, wide folds and intertwining ones. As for the nude parts and the rest of the statue, the Saint, gazing toward heaven, turns his head from the right, and his breast gently to the left, with a restrained and easy movement. In this way, in the slight recoil of the shoulders between the two shafts of the cross, he exposes his breast, its different elements distinctly modelled and robust

in the character of a strong and hardened fisherman, attenuated however by age, the bone-structure and muscles being modelled in the flesh with moderate relief. The face has the same character, a little thin, the brow broad and without hair, the beard unshaved, and the lips open in divine emotion. And since there is just this one figure in so large a space, his attitude is open and spirited, the right arm rising up to the shaft of the cross, the left

stretching outwards. In the same way, on one side the foot rests on the ground, while on the other it is coming away from it, half of the sole raised up; so that the knee pushes outwards with unusual effect and the thigh shows under the simple drapery. Thus is one's eye filled with harmonious proportion in the well-arranged contrapposto and in the beauty of the drapery and nude body, and one is excited by wonder).

## FRANCESCO MOCHI

(b. 1580; d. 1654)

Son of the Florentine sculptor Orazio Mochi, Francesco Mochi was born at Montevarchi on 29 July 1580 and was trained in Florence by the painter Santi di Tito and in Rome by the sculptor Camillo Mariani, whom he may have assisted before 1603 on the colossal stucco figures in S. Bernardo alle Terme. At this time he attracted the notice of Mario Farnese, who secured him the commission (1603) for an Annunciation group for the Duomo at Orvieto, now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. The Annunciatory Angel from this group is dated 1605, and the Virgin Annunciate was carved between 1605 and 1608. He later (1609-10) carved a statue of St. Philip for Orvieto. Between 1610 and 1612 he was engaged in the Cappella Paolina of S. Maria Maggiore (see Plate 136 above), completing a relief by his master Mariani and carving a statue of St. Matthew. The next seventeen years were devoted to his most celebrated works, the two equestrian monuments at Piacenza (see Plates 162, 163 below). On his return to Rome he received the commission for the statue of St. Veronica in St. Peter's (see Plate 161 below) and carved a statue of St. John the Baptist for the Barberini Chapel in S. Andrea della Valle which was not put in place and is now in the Hofkirche at Dresden. The same fate overtook a group of the Baptism of Christ carved by Mochi for S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (model exhibited 1634), which was not installed and is now on the Ponte Molle. A second statue for Orvieto (St. Thaddeus, 1631-44) was used for the purpose for which it was designed, but two figures of SS. Peter and Paul intended for S. Paolo fuori le Mura (1638-52) are now on the Porta del Popolo, and the commission for a bronze statue of Pope Innocent X was withdrawn from Mochi and awarded to Algardi (see Plate 165 below). A model for an equestrian statue of Carlo Barberini is in the Barberini collection. Mochi died in Rome on 6 February 1654.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** A detailed account of Mochi's career is given by Wittkower (in *Thieme Künstlerlexikon*, xxiv, 1930, pp. 601-2), who has also provided an excellent critical estimate of his Roman sculpture (*Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, 1958, p. 85). See also V. Martinelli ('Contributi alla scultura del Seicento - 1. Francesco Mochi a Roma', in *Commentari*, ii, 1951, pp. 224-35, and 'Contributi alla scultura del Seicento - 2. Francesco Mochi a Piacenza', in *Commentari*, iii, 1952, pp. 35-43).

*Plate 161: ST. VERONICA*  
St. Peter's, Rome

The statue of Veronica for the first of the niches in the piers beneath the dome of St. Peter's (for which see Plate 160 above) was commissioned from Mochi in December 1629 when a payment of 50 scudi is recorded for the first model (for this and other documents see O. Pollak, *Die Kunstsäigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1931, ii, pp. 442-52). In accordance with a decision of the Congregation of Rites of 5 May 1631, a full-scale model of the figure was prepared, and was exhibited in 1632 along with full-scale models for the three companion figures. In the case of Mochi's model alone an additional payment of 100 scudi was made 'di ordine di Nro. Signore per soplimento'. In 1632 it was agreed that the figures should be made sectionally from a number of blocks of marble, and work on the marble statue appears to have begun after April 1634, when the marble for the figure was approved. On 7 June 1640 the statue was inspected in St. Peter's by the Pope ('Hier mattina la Santità di Nro Sign. su le 10 hore calata nella Basilica Vaticana si compiacque . . . di dar una occhiata alla statua marmorea fatta con gran artif(iti)o dall'Ecc<sup>mo</sup>. scultore Sign. Andrea Mochi da Cortona della Statua di S<sup>ta</sup> Veronica sotto il primo Nicchione dove si conserva il volto santo') (Yesterday morning at 10 o'clock His Holiness went down to the Basilica of the Vatican and was pleased . . . to look at the marble statue of St. Veronica, most skilfully made by the excellent sculptor Andrea Mochi of Cortona under that first niche where the Volto Santo is preserved), and on 4 November 1640 it was unveiled. A uniform sum of 3300 scudi was paid for each of the four statues. A year after the exhibition of Mochi's figure there appeared a volume of poems *La Veronica Vaticana del Signor Francesco Mochi*, with contributions by Francesco Bracciolini, Salvator Rosa and other writers. The most remarkable of the contemporary descriptions of the statue is that of Passeri (pp. 133-4): 'La rappresentò in atto di moto, e d'un moto violente non solo di caminare; ma di correre con velocità, e qui mancò (e sia detto con sua pace) dalla sua propria essenza, perche, se la parola nominativa di Statua deriva dal verbo latino *sto stas*, che significa esser fermo, stabile, et in piedi, quella Figura non è più Statua permanente, et imobile come esser deve, per formare un Simulacro da esser goduto, et amirato dai riguardanti; ma un

personaggio, che passa, e non rimane. . . . Il gesto della Figura è singolare con tutte quelle osservazioni, che si richiedono ad un atto di moto con le sue parti contrapposte regolatamente. Lo scherso del panneggiare è mirabile, perchè fa che la veste riceva un vento, che la rende agitata, e percossa in modo, che, conservando tutto il nudo distintamente del corpo, rimane artificiosamente vestita scherzando nel lembo con uno svolazzo, che rende adornoamento, e vaghezza. Mostra alquanto le braccia nude, le quali, esponendo quel lino ove sta impresso il volto sudante di Christo ai riguardanti, fanno un gesto leggiadissimo delle mani di graziosa, e vaga proporzione. Nel sembiante è tutta spirto perchè, nel moto degl'occhi, e della bocca, fa conoscere, che esclama ad alta voce il mirabile portento della impressione di quel Santissimo Sudario, et ha lavorato quel marmo con sommo arteficio e fatica, con fondi gagliardissimi di scuri, e piegature di panni oltra modo sollevate, e benche di più pezzi congiunti, non lascia penetrare il luoco ove insieme siano collegati quanto ha saputo schermire l'arte con l'arte' (He represented her in movement, and in violent movement, not just walking but quickly rushing; and in this, if I may say so without offence, the statue lacked something of its proper character. For, if the noun, *statue*, derives from the Latin verb, *sto, stas*, meaning to be still, steady and on the feet, this figure is not, as it should be, an unchanging and motionless statue, constituting an image to be enjoyed and wondered at by the spectator, but rather a person passing by and not staying. . . . The gesture of the figure is unusual, and entirely consistent with such movement, every part being justly balanced. The play of drapery is remarkable, for the sculptor represents the dress as struck by a wind, so shaking and convulsing it that, while the nude part of the body is kept distinct, it is nevertheless cunningly clad by the fluttering edges of the cloth, which endow it with embellishment and grace. To a certain extent it reveals the bare arms, holding out to the spectator the cloth on which the perspiring face of Christ had left its likeness, and she makes a light movement of the hands, gracefully and elegantly disposed. In appearance the figure is all soul; for she shows in the movement of her eyes and mouth that she is crying out with loud voice the miracle of the likeness on the Holy Sudary. The sculptor has worked the marble with the utmost skill and care, with boldly incised shadows and the folds of the drapery raised very high; and though it consists of several pieces of marble joined, he has concealed art with art so well that one cannot tell at what point they are joined together). The motif of the Veronica is related by Hess to a figure in a fresco of the Madness of Nebuchadnesor by Santi di Tito in the Museo Etrusco of the Vatican and by Fransolet to a statue from the Niobe group.

Plates 162, 163: EQUESTRIAN MONUMENTS  
OF ALESSANDRO (1545-1592) AND  
RANUCCIO (1569-1622) FARNESE  
Piazza Cavalli, Piacenza

The two equestrian monuments (Figs. 139, 140) (for which see Pettorelli, *Francesco Mochi e i gruppi equestri farnesiani*, Piacenza,

1926) owe their origin to a decision of Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma, in 1612 that his son should be baptised in Piacenza, and that his wife, Margherita Aldobrandini, should make her formal entry into the city at the same time. The necessary decorations were entrusted to Malosso, and it was agreed by the Consiglio Generale of Piacenza 'di erigere a perpetua gloria di sua altezza serenissima et della serenissima (di) lei casa due statue sulla piazza grande di questa citta sopra due grandi colonne.' This proposal was agreed to by Ranuccio Farnese on 4 April 1612. The three deputatati appointed by the Council to supervise the making of the statues obtained drawings for the bases from Malosso. Between April and June the project for statues was transformed into a project for equestrian monuments, and on 10 June 1612 there arrived in Piacenza 'l'illmo. Franco. Mochio fiorentino co' doi suoi compagni scultori, quali ahervano da fare li Cavalli et Statue.' Simultaneously an approach was made to the Milanese sculptor Giulio Cesare Procaccini (1546-1626), who prepared a model for the statue of Alessandro Farnese, while Mochi undertook that for the statue of Ranuccio. The models were completed by 18 September 1612, and on 28 November 1612 the contract for both statues was awarded to Mochi. In this the Roman bronze founder Marcello Manachi is named as the caster of the groups, and final authority over the statues is vested in Mario Farnese, Duke of Latera. The contract makes provision for full-scale wax models of the statues, and stipulates that the two riders should be 'armate all'antica', and that the horses should be differently posed, though in general correspondence with each other. Work began immediately, but late in 1614 difficulties arose between Manachi and Mochi, and the latter assumed responsibility for the casting of the statues. In June 1615 Mario Farnese reported favourably on the progress of the work; a reply of Ranuccio Farnese of 17 June 1615 alludes to a proposal for narrative scenes on the bases of the statues. Early in 1616 the horse for the statue of Ranuccio Farnese was reported to be almost complete, and on 24 March 1616 Mochi sought permission to study the Gattamelata and Colleoni statues before finishing it ('Havendo avuto sempre pensiero vedere il Cavalo di Padova avanti ch'io lasci per fornito il mio . . .'). By 21 April 1616 he had returned to Piacenza, and reported that 'con grandissimo gusto e soddisfazione dell'animo mio ho veduto non solo la statua et caval di Padova, ma ancora quelli di Venetia, si li antichi come il moderno, et sono ritornato a casa con quiete d'animo con openion come sempre ebbi de affaticarmi per poter colpire il segno, et non potendo almeno darvi vicino. Piaccia a Dio che cio sia'. The casting of the horse 17 February 1618 was defective but remediable, and thereafter Mochi began work on the statue of the Duke, for which life study in Parma was required. A letter from Mochi on 22 January 1619 complains of the difficulty of obtaining sittings from the Duke. The statue was cast in the course of 1620, and the complete monument was unveiled on 9 November of that year. Thereafter work began on the monument of Alessandro Farnese, and shortly after the death of Ranuccio Farnese (5 March 1622) the second horse was cast. On 9 July 1622 the Regent of Parma, Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, expressed his satisfaction that the casting had been successful. The successful casting of the statue of Alessandro

Farnese was reported on 25 December 1623, and the second monument was formally unveiled on 6 February 1625. The bronzes for the plinths were made by Mochi between this date and 6 April 1629, when the balance of the sum due to him was paid. The bronze tablet on the front of the plinth of the monument of Ranuccio Farnese carries the inscription:

RAINUTIO FARNESIO  
PLACENTIAE PARMAE ETC. DUCI IIII  
S.R.E.  
CONFALONERIO PERPETUO  
CUSTODI IUSTITIAE  
CULTORI AEQUITATIS  
FUNDATORI QUIETIS  
OB  
OPIFICES ALLECTOS  
POPULUM AUCTUM  
PATRIAM ILLUSTRATAM  
PLACENTIA CIVITAS  
PRINCIPI OPTIMO  
EQUESTREM STATUAM  
D.D.

On the sides of the base are reliefs with allegories of Peace and of Good Government. The statue of Alessandro Farnese (for

which a model exists in the Museo Nazionale, Florence) is inscribed:

ALEXANDRO FARNESIO  
PLACENTIAE PARMAE ETC. DUCI III.  
S.R.E.  
CONFALONERIO PERPETUO  
BELGIS DEVICTIS BELGICO  
GALLIS OBSIDIONE LEVATIS GALlico  
PLACENTIA CIVITAS  
OB AMPLISSIMA ACCEPTA BENEFICIA  
OB PLACENTINUM NOMEN  
SUI NOMINIS GLORIA  
AD ULTIMAS USQUE GENTES  
PROPAGATUM  
INVICTO DOMINO SUO  
EQUESTRI HAC STATUA  
SEMPITERNUM VOLUIT EXTARE  
MONUMENTUM.

The two reliefs on the base show the investment of Antwerp by means of a bridge thrown across the Scheldt (1584) and Alessandro Farnese receiving the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth (1587). The balance of evidence is that the design of the plinths in their present form is due to Mochi not Malosso.

## ALESSANDRO ALGARDI

(b. 1595; d. 1654)

Born at Bologna on 27 November 1595, Algardi was trained in his native town in the academy of Lodovico Carracci and by the sculptor Giulio Cesare Conventi (Bellori). After a period in Mantua, where he was employed by Vincenzo II Gonzaga (d. 1627), he moved to Rome, probably in 1625, with an introduction from the Duke of Mantua to Cardinal Ludovisi. In Rome he worked with his compatriot Domenichino on the Bandini Chapel in S. Silvestro al Quirinale, for which he modelled two stucco statues (1629?). According to Passeri, Algardi's progress in Rome at first was slow, and he was largely occupied in the restoration of antiques and the carving of small sculptures, of which a sleeping putto in the Galleria Borghese (probably 1625-30) seems to have been representative. His first major commissions for works in marble were for the tomb of Pope Leo XI in St. Peter's (see Plate 166 below), and the statue of St. Philip Neri in the sacristy of S. Maria in Vallicella (commissioned by Pietro Buoncompagni and completed by 26 May 1640). The second of these works was followed by the commission for the Martyrdom of St. Paul for S. Paolo at Bologna (see Plate 168 below). A volume of *Poesie dedicate alle glorie del Sig. Alessandro Algardi ottimo degli scultori* (Perugia, 1643) mentions a number of lost works. With the accession of Pope Innocent X, Algardi came into his own both as sculptor and architect. In the latter capacity he was responsible for the Villa Pamphili and the high altar of S. Nicola dei Tolentini, and in the former for the Attila relief in St. Peter's (see Plate 167

below), the bronze statue of the Pope in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (see Plate 165 below), the fountain in the Cortile di San Damaso in the Vatican (1645-50), and the stucco reliefs over the tabernacles designed by Borromini in the nave of St. John Lateran (1648-50). Passeri records that in 1648 an attempt was made by Mazarin to induce Algardi to move to France. Algardi's portrait busts present a number of chronological problems, which are summarised by Wittkower. The evidence for the dating of the earlier busts is specially inadequate. It is generally assumed that the bust of Cardinal Millini (d. 1629) in S. Maria del Popolo was carved about 1630, and that busts of Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia (see Plate 164 below) and Francesco Bracciolini and the Santarelli portrait in S. Maria Maggiore date from this same time, and were followed by the Frangipani busts in S. Marcello al Corso and a bust of Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A coherent picture of Algardi's late portrait style can be formed from the busts of Pope Innocent X and Donna Olimpia Pamphili-Maidalchini in the Palazzo Doria, Rome.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** The primary sources for Algardi's career are lives by Bellori and Passeri, the latter edited with a wealth of documentation by J. Hess (*Die Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri, Römische Forschungen der Biblioteca Hertziana*, xi, 1934). A broad picture of the development of Algardi's style is given by Wittkower (*Art and Architecture in Italy*,

1600–1750, 1958, pp. 173–7). A general article on Algardi's work by Posse (in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, xxv, 1905, pp. 169–201) is less superficial than a later article by Muñoz (in *Atti e memorie della Reale Accademia di San Luca*, ii, 1912, pp. 37–58). On Algardi as a portraitist see Muñoz (in *Dedalo*, i, 1920, pp. 289–304) and O. Raggio (in *Connoisseur*, cxxxviii, 1956, pp. 203–8). For individual works reference may be made to M. Labò ('La cappella dell'Algardi nei Santi Vittore e Carlo a Genova', in *Dedalo*, xi, 1931, pp. 1392–1405, for the Franzoni Chapel in San Carlo at Genoa), Wittkower ('Algardi's relief of Pope Liberius baptising Neophytes,' in *Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts*, xlix, 1960, pp. 29–42, for the fountain in the Cortile di San Damaso), Hess ('Ein Spätwerk des Bildhauers Alessandro Algardi,' in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, n.f. viii, 1931, pp. 292–303, for the firedogs cast by Guidi from Algardi's models for Spain), and Wittkower (in *Rassegna Marchigiana*, vii, 1928, pp. 41–4, for a small bronze by Algardi).

*Plate 164: CARDINAL LAUDIVIO ZACCHIA*  
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (No. 2765)

Prior to its purchase in Rome in 1903, the bust stood on a plinth with the inscription: *LAUDIVIVS CARD. ZACCHIA. ANNO MDCXXVI*. No bust of Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia is recorded in seventeenth-century sources, though a bust of his elder brother Cardinal Paolo Emilio Zacchia (1554–1605) is mentioned by Baldinucci and described by Bellori ('il Cardinale Zacchia Rondonini, questo in atto di volgere il foglio di vn libro che tiene nelle mani'). This second bust is identified by Muñoz ('Alessandro Algardi ritrattista,' in *Dedalo*, i, 1920–1, pp. 289–304) with a bust in the Ojetti collection, Florence. A bust of a Cardinal Zacchia is mentioned in an inventory attached to the will drawn up by Algardi in 1654 ('ed un ritratto di marmo del detto sig. Cardinale Zacchia, non finito'). This bust, which is generally identified with that in the Ojetti collection, appears to have been based on two paintings of Cardinal Zacchia also listed in Algardi's inventory ('un quadretto di ritratto del signor cardinale Zacchia; un quadro d'un ritratto del sig. cardinale Zacchia') as the property of Marchesa Rondonini, the daughter of Cardinal Laudivio Zacchia, to whom the commission appears to have been due. If this identification is correct, the bust of Cardinal Paolo Emilio Zacchia must have been carved in the last years of Algardi's life. Whereas the Ojetti bust has the generalised character of Algardi's posthumous portraits, the bust in Berlin (for which see Posse), shows the particularised treatment of a life portrait. In this respect it finds its closest point of reference in the apparently contemporary life portrait of Francesco Bracciolini (d. 1645) in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. Laudivio Zacchia, after serving as Nuncio in Venice in 1621, received preferment from Pope Urban VIII, by whom he was appointed (29 January 1626) Cardinal-priest of San Sisto. The inscription on the original base of the bust refers to this event, and the bust was therefore carved between 1626 and Zacchia's death on 7 August 1637. The height of the Ojetti bust (126 cm.) is considerably greater than that of the bust in Berlin (70 cm.), and there is no reason to suppose that the commissions were interdependent.

*Plate 165: POPE INNOCENT X*  
Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome

On 15 March 1645, a year after the election of Pope Innocent X, the Roman Senate decreed that a memorial statue of the Pope should be erected in the Capitol, as a counterpart to the statue of Pope Urban VIII by Bernini, which had been installed five years earlier in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The statue (for which see E. Steinmann, 'Die Statuen der Päpste', in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, Rome, 1924, ii, p. 492 ff. and W. Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, Leipzig, 1929, No. 54, pp. 62–4) was initially to have been commissioned from Mochi, who, through intrigue, was then rejected in favour of Algardi. Passeri (pp. 201–2) records that Algardi 'diede principio al Lavoro, e, per farlo con comodità migliore, gli fu assegnata la fonderia Vaticana, la quale tenne sempre per l'inizio il Cavalier Bernini. Dopo gli studi antecedenti necessari ad ogni operazione per renderla perfetta, pose mano al modello grande in quella proporzione, che deveva esser l'Opera, per formarlo, e gettarlo di cera, per alutarlo doppo, e fare la forma dalla quale si cava la figura di metallo. Quando si venne alla operazione del gettito, o fosse inavvertenza, trascuraggine, o poca pratica, andò il tutto in conquasso, e la fusione del metallo andò dispersa, col distruggimento della forma, e con una perdita così considerabile. Si publicò questo accidente essere accaduto per divina permissione per l'atto d'ingiustizia da lui commesso in togliere ad altri, e dalle proprie mani, et in particolare d'un'Amico, le occasioni che già erano in suo potere, e il Mochi ne faceva risate con grandissima sua sodisfazione. Quanto a questo non so chi possa assicurarsi del giusto giudizio di Dio, che possa di fatto chiamare sua permissione una cosa, che può nascere così facile, da un puro accidente, et io non voglio entrare a decidere se l'Algardi facesse male, o bene a procurare per se quell'Opera; aducendo per sua discolpa, che, essendo egli in quel tempo al servizio attuale dei Padroni presenti, e trovandosi sempre impiegato dai comandi di quelli del quale impiego riceveva scarsissima ricognizione (e credo, che ciò fuisse la verità) gli pareva di ricevere un affronto capitando un occasione de Padroni medesimi, vedersene escluso, dichiarato così come insufficiente ad opera di tale considerazione. . . . Per verità Alessandro si sentì assai tormentato dalla passione di questa disgrazia, e per molto tempo ne sentì qualche afflizione; ma rincorato, e confortato da suoi buoni amici, con offerte amorvoli d'aiuti, di denari, ed altre assistenze, fattosi animo, incominciò di nuovo ad applicarsi all'operazione, et in poco tempo se ne cavò fuori con ogni sodisfazione, e lode, essendogli riuscito il gettito del metallo perfettamente, e ripulita, e terminata la Statua, fu posta al Campidoglio con applauso universale' (began the work; and so that he might do it with better facilities, he was allotted the Vatican foundry, which the Cavaliere Bernini had always had before. After the preliminary studies necessary for the perfection of any undertaking, he started on the model, which was as large as the work was to be, shaping it, casting it in wax, arranging it afterwards in sections, and making the mould from which the metal figure would be taken. When it came to the stage of casting, whether by inadvertence, negligence or lack of experience, the whole thing was ruined

and the molten metal scattered, destroying the mould and so causing considerable loss. It was put abroad that this accident had happened by Divine Will, on account of Algardi's injustice in taking from others, even out of their hands, and particularly from one of his friends, the opportunities that had been given them; and Mochi laughed about it with much satisfaction. As for this, I do not know who can be sure enough about God's just judgement to attribute to His Will a thing which can happen so easily, simply by accident; and I do not want to enter the question of whether Algardi did well or ill in getting this commission for himself. But I will mention in his defence that he was at this time in the active service of these patrons and was always occupied with their orders, with but little recognition for it, and so, rightly I think, felt himself slighted when an opportunity for a commission from the same patrons arose and he saw himself excluded from it, thus labelled as not good enough for so important a work. . . . Alessandro was really very distressed at suffering this disgrace, and was afflicted by it for a long time; but after he had been consoled and comforted by good friends of his, with kind offers of help, money and other assistance, he took courage and set to work on the undertaking again. And soon he completed it in an entirely satisfactory way and with much praise, the casting of the metal succeeding perfectly; and when the statue was polished and finished it was put in the Campidoglio with general approval). The statue was installed on 9 March 1650. Hager reproduces a terracotta bozzetto allegedly for the statue of the Pope in a Viennese private collection; a second bozzetto is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (both attributions doubtful).

Plate 166: THE TOMB OF POPE LEO XI  
St. Peter's, Rome

The tomb of Pope Leo XI, who was elected Pope in 1605 and reigned only for twenty-seven days, was commissioned from Algardi on 21 July 1634 by the Pope's great nephew, Cardinal Roberto Ubaldini (1581-1635). The contract for the monument (for which see O. Pollak, *Die Kunsttätigkeit unter Urban VIII*, Vienna, 1931, ii, pp. 281-6) enumerates the sculptures intended for the tomb as follows:

'Primieramente: Il sopradetto Alessandro Algardi spontaneamente et in ogni miglior modo si obliga di fare di sua propria mano tutte le figure, che si dovrano collocare nel suds<sup>o</sup> deposito, che sono li seguenti:

La Statua del soprad<sup>o</sup>. Papa lustrata, et finita compitamente con ogni studio, et diligenza d'altezza di Palmi tredici e mezzo vestita Pontificalmente con ogni studio rapresenterà in forma che benedice, et sedente sopra una sedia, che sta posta sopra l'Urna dove sarà collocato Il suo corpo.

Due figure intiere in piedi compitamente finite d'Altezza di Palmi 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  per ciascheduna, che vanno nelli lati della medema Vrna, cioè una à man destra, che rapresenta La Magnanimità, e l'altra alla sinistra, che rapresenta la Liberalità con duoi bassi rilevi nelli zoccholi, ò piedistalli delle medeme figure, con l'impresa del Papa, che è un mazzo di rose con le parole sotto sic florui.

Due historie di basso rilievo finite con ogni studio, d'altezza di P<sup>mi</sup> 5, et di longhezza P<sup>mi</sup> 9 fra tutti duoi Intagliate nel'medemo marmo dell'urna nella parte della prospettiva in faccia.

Duo Puttini . . . di grand<sup>a</sup> P<sup>mi</sup> 7 l'uno in circa, che vanno collocati nelle due lunette, overo angolli, che si fanno sopra l'arco della Cornice della nicchia nella quale va collocata tutta l'opera, che regono un'Arma di marmo nella sumità della Sopradetta Cornice.'

(Firstly: the said Alessandro Algardi undertakes of his free will and as best he may to make with his own hand all the figures which are to be installed on the said tomb, to wit:

The statue of the said Pope, polished and finished in an elegant manner and with full care and diligence, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  palmi high and in accurate pontifical dress; he will represent him in the act of benediction, sitting on a throne placed over the urn in which his body will lie.

Two full-length standing figures elegantly finished, each of them 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  palmi high, which will go at the sides of this same urn; that is, one on the right representing Magnanimity, the other on the left representing Liberality, together with two bas-reliefs on the plinths or pedestals of these figures, with the emblem of the Pope, which is a bunch of roses with the words *sic florui* beneath.

A bas-relief with two histories carefully finished, 5 palmi high and 9 palmi across, carved from the same marble as the urn on the part facing the front.

Two small putti, each about 7 palmi high, which will go in the two lunettes or corners above the arch of the cornice of the niche in which the whole work will be put; they will bear a marble escutcheon at the top of the said cornice.)

The contract further stipulates that a wooden model with plaster figures should be prepared, that Algardi should undertake responsibility for the adaptation of the niche in which the tomb was to be set, and that the marble used throughout should be 'marmi del Polvaccio della più bella pasta, et candidezza, che si trovi', and should be selected by the sculptor at Massa Carrara. The total remuneration for the tomb was 2,550 scudi, including two sums of 700 scudi for the statue of the Pope and for the two lateral figures. After the death of Cardinal Ubaldini responsibility for the tomb was assumed by the Congregazione di Propaganda Fide. The first payment for the tomb occurs on 2 November 1634, and the last payment on 4 July 1652 (for the payments between 1634 and 1644 see Pollak, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-92). The relief on the front of the sarcophagus shows the conversion of King Henry IV of France (1593), at which the Pope had been present as Cardinal-Legate. As noted by Hess (in Passeri, pp. 202-3) the two lateral figures appear to have been virtually complete by 1644. According to Passeri, the figure of Liberality was carved by Giuseppe Peroni (1626-59?), and that of Magnanimity (here described as 'Maestà del Regno') by Ercole Ferrata (1610-86). Wittkower, however, points out that these two artists did not join Algardi's studio till shortly before the completion of the tomb. The Magnanimity depends from a statue of Athena in the Museo delle Terme, which was restored by Algardi. The monument occupies a niche in the third pier on the left side of the left aisle of the basilica. A terracotta model for the relief is in the Accademia di San Luca.

Plate 167: THE MEETING OF  
POPE LEO THE GREAT AND ATTILA  
St. Peter's, Rome

Between 1626 and 1628 a painted altarpiece of the meeting of Pope Leo the Great and Attila was commissioned from Arpino for the altar of St. Leo in the left transept of St. Peter's. This painting was still unfinished at Arpino's death when Lanfranco (14 July 1640) attempted to secure the reversion of the commission. Five years later, after the election of Pope Innocent X, a colossal marble relief (Fig. 165) was commissioned for the altar from Algardi. On 2 July 1646 Algardi received a payment of 100 scudi for a model of the relief (presented by Pope Alexander VII to the Chiesa Nuova in 1661 and now on the stairway to the Biblioteca Vallicelliana). Payments for the marble run from 28 September 1647 to 30 August 1653, when the total sum of 10,000 scudi payable to Algardi was completed by a payment of 2,800 scudi. A small version of the composition in wax at Dresden, published by Brinckman (*Barock-Bozzetti*, i, 1923, p. 112) as a model by Algardi, is apparently a derivative from the relief. Passeri's description of the relief reads as follows (pp. 203-4): 'Fu dato intanto all'Algardi l'impiego di quel mirabile basso rilievo (se pare può chiamarsi così un lavoro di marmo così ben condotto di tutto rilievo) della Istoria d'Attila *flagellum Dei*, che è al presente nello Tempio di San Pietro in Vaticano, et havendo l'assegnamento di cento scudi il Mese ben pagati, si diede a questa operazione con grande assiduità. Si valse, in questo lavoro, dell'aiuto del Guidi, il quale più d'ogn'altro gli fù di gran sollievo, particolarmente in certo tempo che gli convenne fermarsi in letto inchiodato dalla podagra, e durò qualche mese, che, essendone guarito, e tornato al lavoro, il vide portato così avanti dalla diligenza di quello, che si stupì, parendogli, che una simile spedizione richiedesse qualche anno d'assistenza, e più s'accalorò nell'affezione del Guidi. Si condusse finalmente alla sua perfezione lavoro così considerabile nello spazio di pochi anni, e riuscì, in vero, un Opera, che nella grandezza della Mole non ha il simigliante, ne tragh'antichi, e tra i moderni Scultori. Rapresenta il Tiranno Attila, quando, essendo incontrato, nelle rive del Pò, dal Pontefice Leone primo, resta atterrito dalla visione Celeste di due personaggi, che lo minacciano dall'alto con le spade nude in mano, siche desistesse dall'impresa di condursi, con l'Esercito in Roma a danni di quella Città, che furono li due principali Apostoli San Pietro, e San Paolo. Viene accompagnato il Tiranno da quantità di soldati, el Pontefice Leone in abito Pontificale, assistito dal Clero, lo stà esortando a non proseguire l'intrapreso cammino; mentre egli di già spaventato, per la visione, rimane imobile, e confuso. Questa opera riuscì a quel gran uomo, d'una squisita maniera, e condotta ad una estrema perfezione a segno, che non è mai (a parere dei più saggi) per temere il paragone d'ogn'altro, benche celebre, e renomato Scultore. Io m'assicuro, che questa lode, che con tanta scarsezza, impiego in Opera così mirabile, non sia mai per esser derisa, ne dall'Invidia, ne dalla Ignoranza, inimici li più potenti della Virtù, l'una implacabile nel suo livore, e l'altra incapace nella sua stolidezza; perche da se medesima è bastante a farsi una libera apertura all'applauso

universale' (Algardi was given the commission for the remarkable bas-relief (if that is the right term to use of a work in marble so well done in full relief) of the story of Attila, the Scourge of God, which is now in the Church of S. Pietro in Vaticano; and, being duly paid a salary of 100 scudi a month, he set to work on this undertaking with great diligence. He had in this work the assistance of Guidi, who more than anyone else was his great support, especially during one period when he had to stay confined to his bed with gout. It was some months before he was better and returned to work, and then he saw things had been carried so far forward by Guidi's diligence that he was astonished, thinking such progress required some years assistance, and he warmed in his affection for him. This great work was finally brought to completion within a few years, and it became a creation which, in the greatness of its size, has no peer, either among the ancient or the modern sculptors. It represents the tyrant Attila met by Pope Leo I on the banks of the River Po, and so struck with terror by the heavenly vision of two figures, the two principal apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, threatening him from above with drawn swords in their hands, that he gave up his intention of marching on Rome to destroy that city. The tyrant is accompanied by a number of soldiers, and Pope Leo, in pontifical dress and assisted by the clergy, is exhorting him not to continue the march he has undertaken; while Attila, terrified by the vision, stands still and uncertain. This work, done in an excellent manner and brought to extreme perfection, came to be a token for that great man of his having, in the opinion of the best judges, nothing to fear in comparison with any other sculptor, however celebrated and famous. I am sure that this praise, which I use of this remarkable work so sparingly, will never be belittled, not even by the two most powerful of Talent's enemies, Envy and Ignorance, the one implacable in its rancour, the other unprofitable in its stupidity; because it is in itself sufficient to bring general approbation).

Plate 168: THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. PAUL  
S. Paolo, Bologna

Algardi's group, which is set behind the high altar in an open tabernacle by Facchetti, is described by Passeri (p. 198): 'Stando così applicato gli furono proposte alcune occasioni di lavoro di marmo, una fù San Paolo in atto d'esser decollato, e la figura del Manigoldo, che gli tronca la testa figure che andarono a Bologna nella Chiesa di detto Santo.' The work was commissioned by Cardinal Bernardino Spada (1593-1661), and was carved in Rome. Hess, followed by Wittkower, relates the scheme to an altarpiece of the Martyrdom of St. Longinus by Sacchi at Castelgandolfo. There is no record of the date at which the group was begun; according to Masini (*Bologna perlustrata*, 1650, p. 133), it was completed in 1647. The tabernacle is inscribed: DOMINICI FACCHETTI OPVS ANNO JUBILAEI 1650. For the altar, which was designed by Borromini, Algardi prepared a circular gilt bronze relief of the Martyrdom of St. Paul, of which an old gesso cast is in the Museo Estense at Modena and two bronze replicas are in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

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